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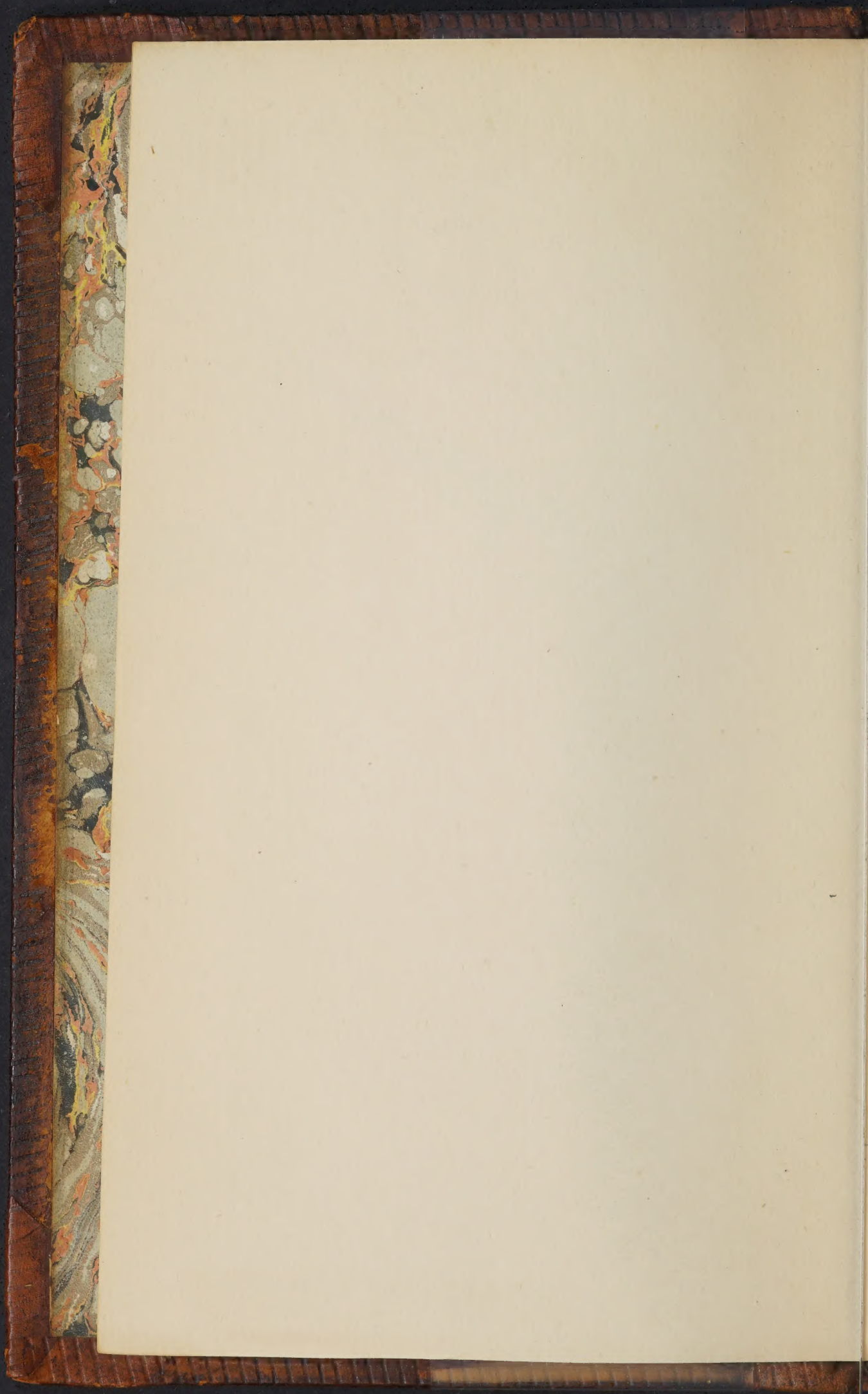








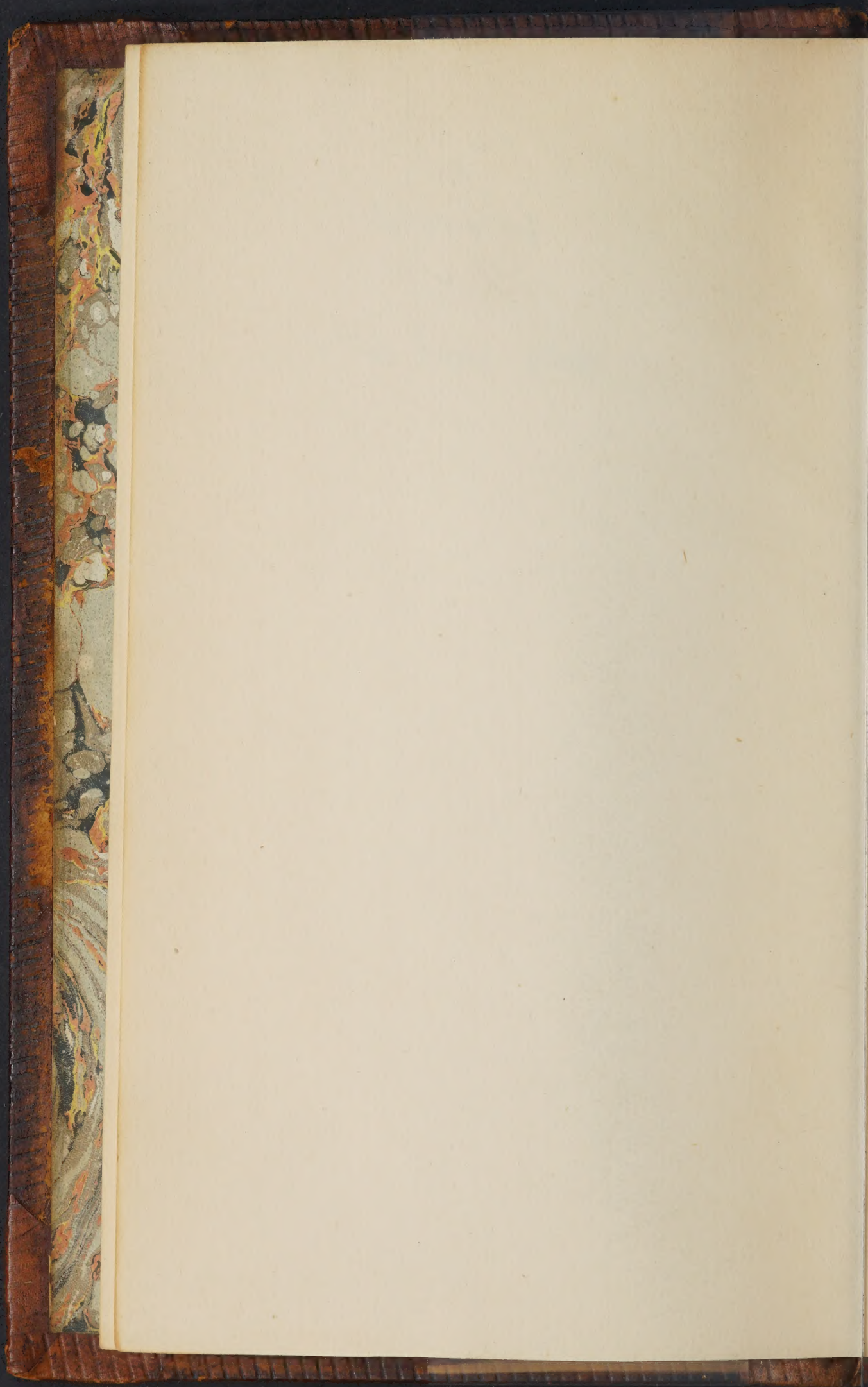


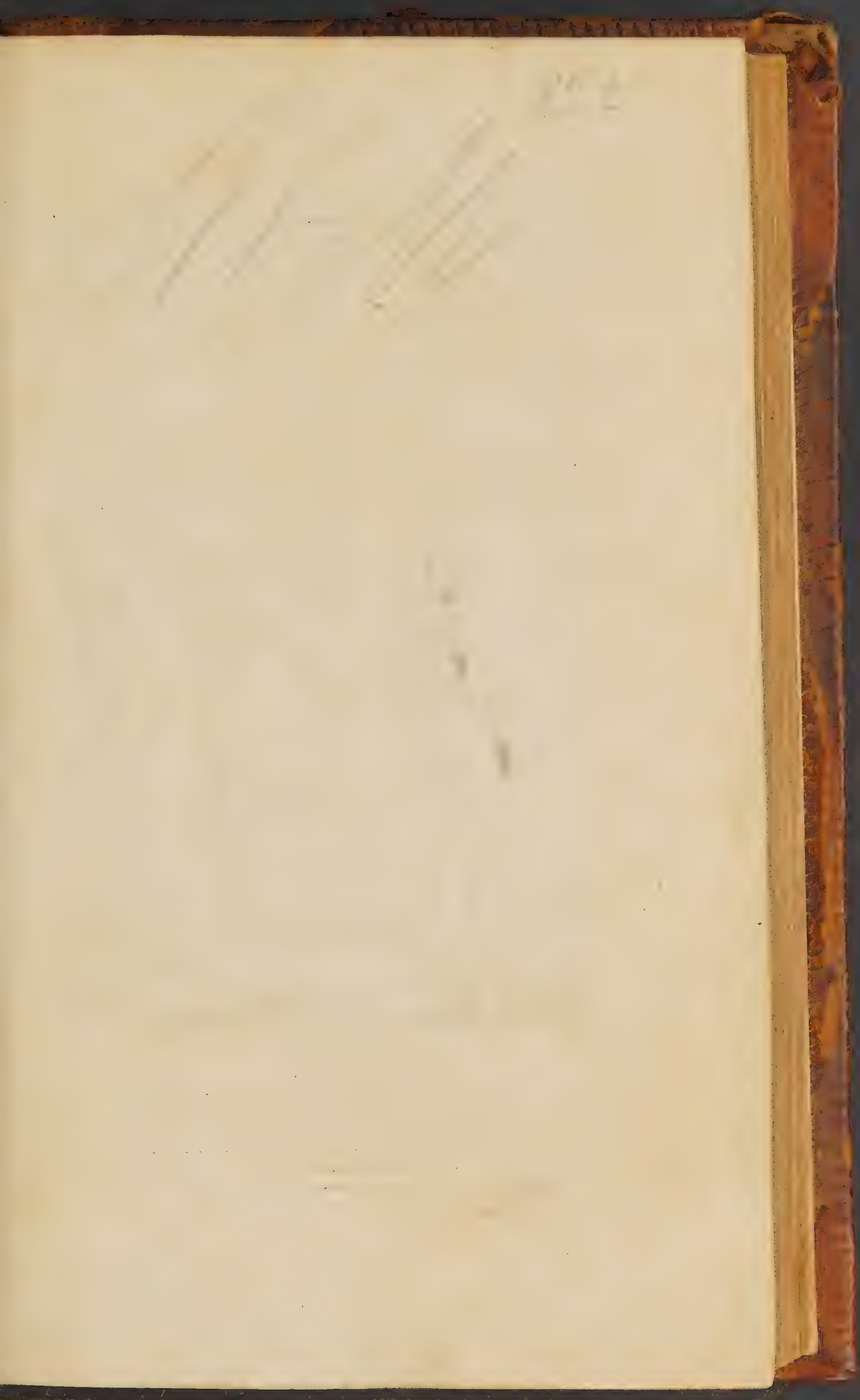


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The Author in Caffaria?

A. F. 1801

TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE INTERIOR

OF

AFRICA,

FROM THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO MOROCCO;

IN

*Caffraria, the Kingdoms of Mataman, Angola,
Massi, Monoemugi, Muschako, Bahahara,
Wangara, Haoussa, &c. &c.*

And thence through the

DESERT OF SAHARA

AND

THE NORTH OF BARBARY TO MOROCCO.

Between the Years 1781 and 1797.

BY

Christian Frederick Damberger.

WITH A NEW MAP,

AND SEVERAL COLOURED PLATES.

Faithfully translated from the German.

London:

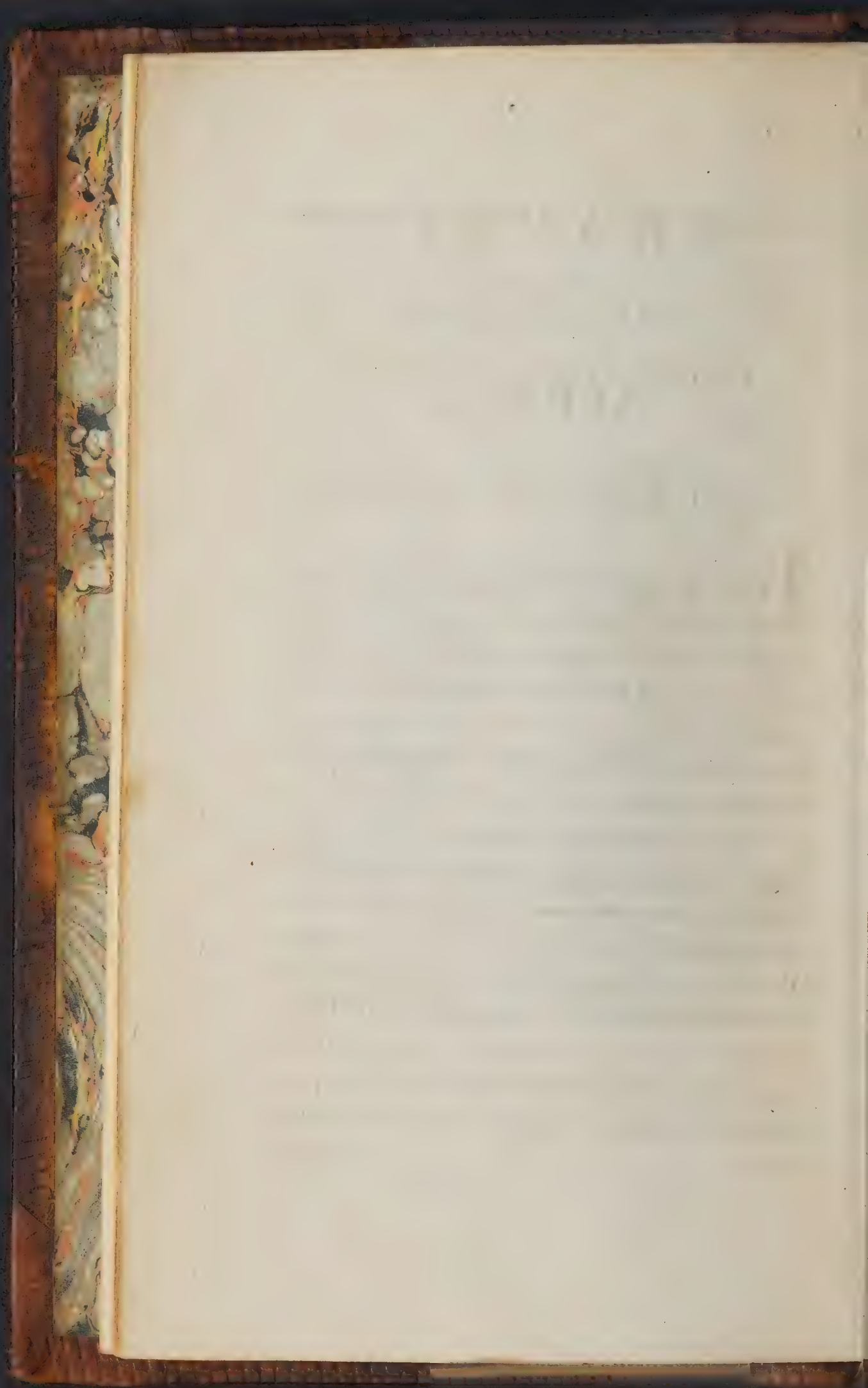
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AND SOLD BY

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BALFOUR, EDINBURGH; J. ARCHER, DUBLIN;
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1801.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury Square.



THE
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE avidity with which travels into Africa have been read by the public, promises to secure to this work a favourable reception. The travels hitherto published may be said to give merely a glimpse into the interior of that vast continent, and a thousand miles in a straight line from the coast, has been the extremity of every former excursion, while our present author has explored an extent of ten thousand miles through the very heart of the country. VAILLANT, PARKE, BRUCE, BROWNE, and SONNINI added but little to our knowledge, and after all their efforts, the map of Africa remained still disfigured by a blank space entitled "*Parts wholly unknown to Europeans.*"

Through this space a path has at last been opened: a German on foot has, with the perseverance characteristic of his countrymen, measured the extent of Africa. He has passed through the midst of it, from the Cape of Good Hope to the sea of Morocco. We are by his means made acquainted with kingdoms and countries, whose names never before struck our ears. In the kingdom of Haoussa, of which Mr. Parke gives so meagre an account, our traveller resided a considerable time in high favour with the monarch; he wandered with tribes under the equator, where no steps of a white man had till his time been seen; and he travelled over the burning desert of Sahara, noted for its monsters, and deemed an impenetrable barrier between the north and middle of Africa.

The difficulties and dangers to be encountered in such an expedition may be easily conceived from the relation of the travellers already mentioned, who can scarcely be said to have gone beyond the bounds

bounds of civilised humanity, and their path was, comparatively speaking, a turn-pike road to that of our author's. But he seems to have been formed both in mind and body for this enterprise. He was exactly the man whom the AFRICAN ASSOCIATION would have rejoiced to select for their laudable purposes of exploring unknown regions, and he throws such light upon manners and customs, and proper mode of conduct, and travelling in these countries, as will be highly serviceable to its future projects; indeed, we flatter ourselves that the publication of this work in our own language will be honoured with its highest approbation.

Our author did not visit Africa with a view to discover curious animals or plants; to form a new system, or extend the limits of one already established: he describes chiefly men and manners, and these not from a cursory view, but from a continued residence in various kingdoms and republics. Sometimes he was in the highest favour with princes, at other times an object of contempt to the lowest of the people.

Sometimes he enjoyed all the comforts which the nature of the country admitted, at other times he was exposed to all the miseries which a burning sun and a burning soil could inflict. Alternately he was a freeman, a servant, or a slave.

To literary merit our traveller makes no pretensions : he tells a simple artless tale : what he saw, and what he suffered he describes accurately : he takes us with him in his tour, interests us in his feelings, and at every moment rouses us to new objects of curiosity, which he never fails to gratify. If amusement only is desired by the reader, he will here find again realised the tale that caught the ear of Desdemona.

But though this would have been a sufficient justification for the appearance of the work in an English dress, we have had much higher points in view ; contemplated in a Moral and Commercial light, these Travels hold out to this country very important objects of enquiry. In the first place indeed we feel with considerable grief and

and shame the reproaches cast on this country, in common with other countries, by the blacks. The name of *Christian* is every where held in contempt and abhorrence. It is, in the language of a black, the name for every thing which is vile, base, cruel, rapacious, unjust and wicked: and as long as christians debase their character by the abominable wickedness of the Slave Trade, so long is all access barred to the civilization of Africa, and to the spreading of the religion of Our Saviour among its oppressed and injured inhabitants. To the moralist this is a severe reflection, and the observations on the Slave Trade in this work, must pierce the heart of every Englishman who has the least regard for his religion or his constitution.

Destroy the Slave Trade, and this work opens to the view new sources of wealth, which avarice itself could scarcely exhaust. A new world is opened for our arts, and will yield in its turn treasures inexhaustible. A factory may, with no great difficulty, be

established at Haoussa, and commerce be the means of making an Englishman a blessing to the country to which he is now a curse.

In rendering this singular production into English, it has been the great object of the translator to give the unvarnished tale as simply as the author would himself have told it, had he written in our language. The inequalities in the translation frequently arise from those of the original, and whenever they are the fault of the translator, will, we hope, be pardoned by the candid, as they arise from causes which it is not necessary to present to the public. In every point of view we can confidently offer the work as the most instructive as well as the most interesting that has hitherto appeared on the subject of Africa.

London, Dec. 13, 1800.

THE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT was not a vain ambition, of seeing my name added to the list of the Authors of the present times, that excited me to publish this Account of my Travels; but the desire expressed by my Friends and Patrons, that I would contribute to the enlargement of our stock of geographical knowledge, by communicating what I had seen or learned in the distant regions of Africa. Many persons, who have made an excursion to the distance of forty or fifty miles from their homes, favour us with their travels, speak of the dangers and disappointments they had

had to encounter; describe cities and regions, which they hastily viewed; praise and censure, as they think proper:—And yet their productions are read, and themselves encouraged to make further researches. Now, as I can, without presumption assert, that, before me, no German ever undertook so dangerous a journey into that, for the most part, yet unexplored land, through the interior parts of which I travelled, alone and on foot, for not less than sixteen years, I believe I shall not do an unimportant service to the public, by communicating my observations. These observations, wear not an air of learning or deep science; but I can with confidence affirm, that *I speak of every thing, as AN EYE-WITNESS, with TRUTH and FIDELITY.* When I occasionally correct Errors, which have, from the accounts of preceding travellers, as Vaillant for example, been adopted as matters of fact; or when I supply
what

what is defective in them ;—it is done from *no other motive than the LOVE OF TRUTH.* For the mistakes of which I myself may have been guilty, I crave the indulgence of the reader. The names of nations, towns, countries, &c. may perhaps be written otherwise than I have written them ; but I wrote them as I heard them pronounced ; for in most of the countries through which I passed, there were no written documents. To several countries and towns I have likewise given the names which they usually have in maps ; but many of the names are entirely wanting both in charts and in geographical books. In the map accompanying this work, many things are corrected and supplied. Of the countries of which we already possess accurate descriptions, I have said little ; that I might not repeat what is generally known. Respecting some objects, which could not be well described by words, I have superintended the labours of an artist,

tist, who has done complete justice to my instructions.

If this account of my travels be favourably received by the public, I intend to publish, if I remain in Europe, as a sequel to it, a more circumstantial and equally accurate description of the countries and kingdoms which are least known, namely Bahahara, Haouffa, &c.

CHRISTIAN FREDERIC DAMBERGER.

*Joiner, a Native of Sch**, and now residing at Wittenburg.*

Written during my journey through Saxony, in the month of August, 1800.

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* In the original this is the first chapter of the second volume; the Translation has been printed complete in one volume to reduce the expense to the purchaser.

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b 2

cended

cended a great hill: From the 25th to the 30th the continue their Journey through the Sandy Desert. On the 1st of June they arrive at a Village in the Kingdom of Watometh, and there rest for a Day to refresh themselves.--On the 5th of June the Caravan crosses over a Chain of Mountains, and swim with difficulty through the River Sampi, which is greatly swollen. They then pass over a Sandy Plain, and arrive on the Confines of the Kingdom of Tamohata or Targa. They are attacked by a Moorish Horde, lose two men and a Camel, but reach, at last, the Mountains bounding the Desert of Sahara - - - - - 451

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Construction of the Map 537

ERRATA,

which the Reader is requested to correct with the pen.

Page . . . Line

- 16 . . . 13 for choose *read* chose.
 32 *last line*, - dele the whole line in a few copies and substitute "The graziers are obliged to deliver whatever"
 44 *Note*.---According to Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary the German mile contains 4000 geometrical paces, and the English 1200; so that their proportion is as ten to three; or, in other words, a German mile is three miles one-third English.
 46 . . . 10 for calebath *read* calabash.
 . . . 11 - tinder-bov *read* tinder-box.
 . . . 18 dele *here*.
 . . . 18 of the *note*, for of gourd *read* of a gourd.
 66 . . . 4 for trust *read* touch.
 113 . . . 24 - Arica *read* Africa.
 295 . . . 3 - mode *read* made.
 338 . . . 25 - of *read* and.
 360 . . . 1 - accordingly *read* exceedingly.

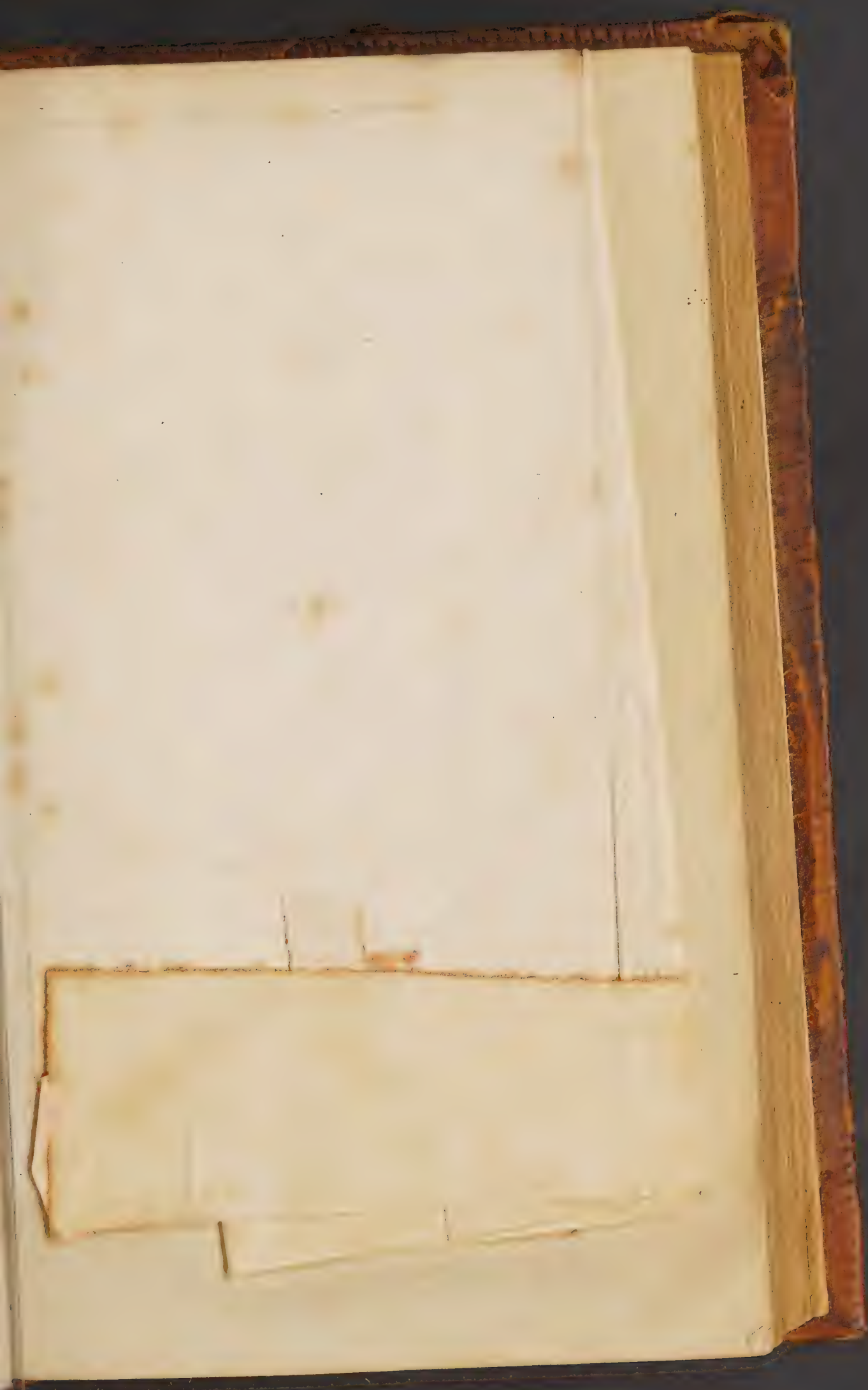
N. B. In the proper names, the orthography of the original has, in general, been preserved; but, in a few, in which there previously existed an established orthography, both have been occasionally adopted, as, Haoussa, or Houssa; Tambuko, or Tombuctoo; Sahara, or Zahara, &c. &c.



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N. B. Tissue-paper should be placed before the coloured plates.





MAP
of
AFRICA
for
C.F. Damberger's Travels

From Rennell's last Map of North Africa, Forster's
Map of South Africa, Arrowsmith's Maps of the
World and likewise Danville's & Vanquoy's
&c. by C.F. Goldbach

Scale of 30 Days Journey on Camels each at
14 geogr. Miles & for the latitude from 18 to 30

Scale for 30 Days Journey of the Authors each 8.1 geogr. Miles
as computed by the Author and for 15° of Latitude

TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

CHAP. I.

Arrival of the Author in Amsterdam—Departure for the Cape of Good Hope—Hospitals at the Cape—The Author is taken from the Ranks, and appointed House-Steward to M. Brand—Learns the Dutch Language—The motives which induced him to desert—Journey towards the interior of the country, and first to Stieleno-Busch—Account of the Revenue and Expences of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape.

ON the 2d of May, 1781, I left my native town, passed through Munster, and on the 26th arrived in Amsterdam, where I stopped at the City of Frankfort inn, near the old Calvinist church. At this inn I found six persons, who, a
B few

few days before my arrival, had entered into the service of the East India Company, and were bousing and feasting with the bounty-money they had received. On the following day I intimated to them, that I likewise had some inclination to make a voyage to the East Indies; they were overjoyed at hearing this, and took a great deal of trouble to confirm me in my resolution: some of them immediately brought wine and biscuit, and pressed me to drink with them; and towards evening they conducted me to a brothel,* where we spent the night in riotous diversion. On the following morning (it was the 2d of June) I went with the landlord of the inn to the East India House, and offered my services. I was immediately engaged as a soldier for seven years, and

* In these houses the women of the town generally assemble three times a week. In the evening towards dusk, when they arrive, the landlord furnishes them with fine cloaths; and when they have decked themselves out in them, they make their appearance in the ball-room, where they dance with those who have no other partners. Every one who dances here pays a florin; but it is not allowed to behave indecently towards any of these girls, or to treat them as what they really are; for in this place they appear only as dancers. After the dance is over, their partners may accompany them home; but probably they will soon lose all desire of having that pleasure, as the landlord demands back again the borrowed cloaths, and the before resplendent lady puts on her own, which sometimes consist only of rags.

received orders to hold myself in readiness to depart in a short time for Batavia, in the ship called the Morning Star. My new friends were to sail in the same ship: the agent of the Company paid me 42 Dutch guildres bounty-money, with which I purchased a chest, tobacco, tea, coffee, cloaths, &c. My host very officiously offered me his services to assist me in buying these articles; and his seemingly honest and upright behaviour induced me to place entire confidence in him; but fourteen days after, when we were ready to go on board the ship, he presented to me a bill amounting to 100 livres. Being destitute of money, I was under the necessity to assign over to him a part of my future pay. On the 16th of June we embarked, cheered by the sound of music on board our ship, which was a three-decker, and lay before Herfort-Sluis: here we found every thing ready for our departure, and on the 21st we were able to set sail. Our commanders were, Captain Gray, a native of Brabant; the chief-mate, Volkers, a Hollander; the second-mate, Rindolfi, an Italian; and the assistant steersman, Koch, a native of Königsberg. The whole crew, including the soldiers, consisted of three hundred and sixty men, one half of whom were Germans. As a supply of fresh provisions, twenty young oxen, twenty-four hogs, forty sheep, seventy fowls, and thirty

pair of pigeons, had been put on board. Three days before our departure three other East India ships had failed; and the Heusterspeuth, a three-decker, failed along with us. On the 29th we had reached the Spanish seas; on the ninth of July a storm overtook us, and we lost two of our masts, but did not suffer any considerable damage besides. We now proceeded somewhat slower, and did not arrive at St. Jago till the 16th: here we might have landed and refitted, but our captain was unwilling to separate from the other ships, and was perhaps likewise loth to pay the anchorage-money, amounting to two hundred guildres; and therefore we continued to sail with jury-masts. On the fourth of August we passed the line. Old experienced seamen assured us, that the heat was not at this time so great as when they passed it before. Diseases now began to prevail among the crew: on the 20th of August three had already died, and one hundred and twenty-one were sick, most of them being attacked with the scurvy and a malignant fever. I too had a severe attack of the scurvy; but soon began to recover. On the 19th of September we espied the Cape of Good Hope, and came to anchor on the 21st. It was with much difficulty that our captain obtained permission to continue in the road; as the physicians of the Cape maintained that we had an infectious

feñious disease on board, and therefore ought to land at the Rye-Island, which is nine miles distant from the Cape. We actually lay two days at anchor before fresh provisions were allowed to be brought to us from the town; and had not our captain ventured to go on shore without leave, and represented to the governor the urgent necessity of affording us some relief, we should probably have suffered much inconvenience and distress, though so near land. Now, however, they sent us a sufficient supply of refreshments, and even received our sick into an hospital. I myself was ordered to be taken to the hospital, having been a second time attacked by the scurvy: as soon as we reached the shore, we were carried by the Company's slaves in chairs to the hospital. The number of the sick brought from the ship amounted to eighty-four: here they likewise interred two, who had died the preceding day before we came to an anchor.

The old sailors had indeed frequently given us a melancholy account of the wretched treatment of the sick in the hospitals at the Cape; but we found not only that, but every thing else even worse than we had expected. On being received into the hospital each of us was allowed a coarse woollen coverlid such as are used for horses, which swarmed

with vermin; and a wretched matrafs, stuffed with wool, to lie on. Our chests and hammocks they deposited in a storehouse, but gave themselves no further concern, whether or not they were safe there. I frequently observed those who had in part recovered their strength, slipping into this storehouse to fetch something out of their chests; but they found them either empty, or perhaps vanished altogether. The attendants themselves generally commit these thefts: if any one makes an application to them concerning his property, they answer that the chest had perhaps been carried by mistake to another place, and will be found there; found however it is not. If the loser, at last, insists on having his property produced and restored to him, inquiries are indeed made about it, but always without success: nay, he even runs the risk of being rewarded only with ill usage for the pains he takes to recover his lost property; for the attendants, when hard pushed, carry their effrontery so far, as to maintain that their accuser had not brought a chest with him from the ship, and only endeavoured in this roguish and fraudulent manner to obtain one.

Each of the sick is, without distinction, allowed twelve ounces of bread, half a pound of meat, and a pint of barley or rice broth; the attendants take
for

for themselves the portion of such as from weakness are able to eat little or nothing: those who are reduced to extreme weakness live almost entirely upon tea.—If the patient be so far restored, as to require only better food and fresh air to effect a perfect cure, the enjoyment thereof is frequently denied him; and he only is allowed more liberty, when he is able to bribe the attendants. The diet is the same throughout the year, the only variation being with respect to the flesh-meat; viz. mutton four times, and beef three times a week; but these are of a very bad quality, and sometimes quite uneatable, appearing quite black from its having been cooked in iron pots. Three times a day the physicians,* accompanied by two of the attendants,

* During my stay here, three physicians attended the sick in the hospital: the name of the first was Madens, an Alfacian. This man had never studied medicine, and perhaps never had a book in his hand, from which he could derive medical knowledge: in a word he was a most ignorant empiric. He had been a considerable time servant to a physician in Capetown, into the favour of whose wife he found means to ingratiate himself, and married her after his master's death. As this lady possessed wealth and influence, he received permission to cure wounds and external sores and diseases; he likewise made some trials on slaves to cure internal disorders, and it so chanced that they recovered. This success procured him the place of an assistant at the hospital; and in the course

attendants, and by a surgeon or apothecary and two slaves, who carry the medicines, go their rounds, and enquire into the state of the sick. According to the symptoms and the answers of the patient, they prescribe a medicine, which is immediately administered by the apothecary; but herein much irregularity takes place; for as the apothecary wishes immediately again to rejoin the physicians, to receive their orders respecting other patients, it often happens that in his hurry he gives a wrong medicine, or perhaps none at all. When the physicians are gone, patients, who had been thus forgotten, sometimes apply to the attendants, who then administer some sort of medicine, very rarely that which the physicians had prescribed, but a dose of whatever they first lay their hands on. In the evening a psalm is read by a Calvinist minister, and a stanza of a hymn sung in every ward of the hospital. If any one of the sick

of time he was appointed one of the physicians, although he was entirely destitute of medical knowledge and skill; he was at last promoted to the rank of first physician. The second physician was named Dampfle, a native of Switzerland, and equally destitute of medical skill. The third was Mader, a native of Erlangen, where he had acquired some knowledge of his profession; and this latter joined to his skill a benevolent heart. But he seldom came to the hospital, having a great deal of business as an accoucheur.

die,

die, he is laid in the same state he died in, clothed or naked, upon a bier covered with cloth, and carried away by four slaves, who have orders to bury him: but as no overseer goes along with them, it often happens that they throw the corpse either among bushes or into a ditch to save themselves the trouble of digging a grave. Those who recover, must either do duty at the guard-house,* or if any Dutch ship happens to be at anchor, they are

* A long building on the outside of the fort, where there are twenty soldiers, two non-commissioned officers, twelve cannoneers, and a bombardier on guard. They are placed there chiefly for the purpose of keeping a proper and necessary watch over another adjoining building, in which those discharged from the hospital are maintained, till ships arrive to carry them farther. But I have seen persons there, who had just come from the hospitals, treated like the slaves, and forced to drag the cart and mend the roads; yet their diet was very bad, and if they seemed to be remiss in their work, the corporals, under whose superintendence they were, scrupled not to inflict blows upon them. I know that the East India Company had ordered better food and treatment to such persons: but it is to blame that it does not demand a stricter account from the chief officers at the Cape. Schall, the officer who had the command over this house of reception for convalescents, was a good honest man: but he was not made acquainted with the many acts of injustice committed here; especially as it was not customary for him to visit the place himself, trusting to the reports brought him, which were drawn up by those interested in concealing the abuses.

put on board to be conveyed to their place of destination. I lay four weeks in the hospital, was then removed to the guard-house, and was, after fourteen days, selected by Mr. Brand, and taken to the post over which he had the command, in Falso-Bay.* There I remained a year, and had various kinds of labour to execute, and among others the following: If ships arrived, I assisted in loading and unloading them; when the ships were gone, I was obliged to cut wood in the mountains, to procure stones from the rocks, and the like. But all this did not last long; I was promoted to another post, on the following occasion. My master's house-steward, Rapeh by name, a taylor, and native of Bremen, an honest worthy man, but given to drunkenness, had once so intoxicated himself, that he was utterly incapable of executing the duties of his office; which consisted in

* At Falso-bay there are considerable buildings. M. Vaillant has given us a full and accurate description of these and the surrounding country. Twenty-eight soldiers and several seamen keep guard, under the command of one serjeant and two corporals. The corporals at that time were Helmer, a Hanoverian; and Cosky, a Dutchman: the serjeant's name was Schenko, and he was a native of Germany. M. Brand, my master, had the superintendance over the whole post, and held here the rank of a captain; and he was likewise in the town president of the council of burghers.

attending

attending upon the foreign guests: and at that time there happened to be a great deal to do, as some English ship lay at anchor, and the officers had come ashore to my master's house. His son accordingly fetched me away from my work, and I was appointed house-steward in the stead of honest Rapeh, who had been already six years in the family. I was but badly qualified for my new employment: as I knew no other language but my mother-tongue, and therefore was not able to converse with the strangers, or to understand them when they called for any thing. Herein my master's son generally assisted me, and by degrees I learned many phrases of other languages. I had executed the duties of my office almost a whole year, to the entire satisfaction of my master and his children; but the mistress of the house was not pleased with me, because I was a man of few words; she therefore on every occasion endeavoured to throw obstacles in my way; and even when I was sitting quietly in my chamber, often said to her husband: "The German is certainly picking the vermin from his shirt, as he is so still in his chamber: Manus (so she called my predecessor Rapeh, his christian name being Hermannus) was a much better man; for he was at least lively and conversable."—Such speeches caused me much vexation, and I spoke thereof to my master's son: but he as well

well as his father advised me not to make myself uneasy on that account. My master had a house in Cape-town, whither he now removed, it being the season of the year when no ships arrive in False-bay; and he took his whole family and me likewise along with him. Here a separate apartment was assigned me; and as I had very little domestic employment, my master gave me Dutch copies, that I might exercise myself in writing. His son acted the part of tutor, and corrected my errors. By these means I not only learned the first elements of writing, but likewise acquired a more intimate acquaintance with the Dutch language. My master expressed great satisfaction at my progress, and exhorted me to continue these exercises, that on some future occasion he might be able to recommend me to a profitable place. In the sequel, however, I found that he did not fulfil his promise; and on no other account but because the mistress of the house was inimical to me. My master had a great deal of business to transact; whatever was imported or exported passed through his hands; he was paymaster of the troops stationed here; had the charge of forwarding the goods to other countries and quarters of the globe; and was in a manner the agent of the land-owners and colonists with respect to the foreign articles they purchased and the products they

they fold. He kept two clerks, who were often obliged to work night and day, when many ships lay in the road; and he placed me in the counting-house as an assistant to them, to dictate to them the accounts and lists which they were copying. I had now been two years in the service of this family, and was on the whole satisfied with my lot. I laid hold of every opportunity to increase my stock of knowledge and cultivate my understanding: this induced my master to commit to me several affairs, which he used to execute himself: he gave me several small accounts to write out, and my performance met with his approbation; nay, he even ordered me several times to distribute in the magazines of the Company the monthly rations to the servants of the Company, and to deliver to them rice, flour, cotton, and the like; and I had the good fortune to commit no mistake.

My master possessed an estate* in the country, at the distance of three day's journey from the Cape, on the road to the warm baths; this estate he visited every year for a few weeks, to make regu-

* My master's son was the ostensible possessor of this estate; for a servant of the Company is allowed only to have a house at Cape-town, but no estate in the country.

lations for the future, and to give orders relative to the management of the farm to his steward, Barensmahl by name, a native of the bishoprick of Munster, a rude severe man, who before my arrival at the Cape had been accused of murder. I should most willingly have gone along with my master; but as, besides his two eldest daughters and Lieutenant Müller,* his son likewise accompanied him, I was obliged to remain at the Cape, to superintend various affairs, to copy some accounts, and, in case he should not return before the commencement of the following month, to take charge of the distribution of the rations in the Company's magazines. I foreboded that I should not have many chearful hours during his absence; and as I expected, so it happened. Even on the first day of the departure of my master, I had a quarrel with my mistress: he had confided to my care the keys of his cabinet, with the express command, that whenever his wife or the clerks went thither, I should accompany them. But my mistress insisted that I should give her the keys, and remain in my own apartment. I replied, that I must obey the orders of my master, and attend her to the cabinet. This answer roused her

* He was a native of the bishoprick of Würzburg, and had served an apprenticeship to a butcher.

anger to the highest degree; she furiously snatched the keys out of my hands, and abused me in terms that could have been expected to flow only from the mouth of the lowest slave-wench. I bore it all patiently, and returned to my apartment, to consider what I should now do. At last I came to a resolution to leave the house, and to repair as speedily as possible to my master in the country. Just as I was on the point of putting it in execution, my master's third daughter, whose name was Kate, came to me. When I had informed her of what had happened, and of my determination to go to the country, she earnestly begged me to remain; and at the same time told me, that if I would come to the Company's garden in the evening, she would wait for me there, as she wished to have some conversation with me about affairs of importance.

She was fourteen years of age, pretty, and well-grown; was fond of being employed where I was, and took great pleasure in hearing the German language. After dinner I went to the fort to wait upon Major Blümer,* an intimate friend of my master, and related to him how I had been treated: he advised me to have patience, and of-

* By birth a Hessian, and formerly a baker.

ferred,

ferred, in case I should meet with any farther ill usage, to give me a lodging at his own house till the return of my master. At four o'clock I repaired to the Company's garden, to learn from little Kate what affairs of importance she had to communicate to me. I found her at the entrance, she laid hold of my arm, and we walked about the garden: the things she informed me of were of no consequence; but the flattering expressions she used towards me, gave me reason to believe that I was not indifferent to her. She assured me, that I might in time become a man of consequence, if I continued with her father, and choose myself a wife out of a rich family of distinction; that her father had raised himself by similar means.* As the tender-hearted girl was beginning to tell me what

* He came to the Cape as a common soldier, and had the good fortune to be appointed orderly-man to the Governor, and to improve himself in reading and writing; while in this station he likewise became acquainted with his present wife, who had been pregnant by an English officer. She took a liking to the young soldier. When the Governor, who loved Brand, observed this, he endeavoured to distinguish and recommend him still more; and accordingly the marriage was happily concluded. Brand, being an Englishman by birth, was appointed a clerk, and employed at the counting-houses, in which business was transacted with the English ships that touched at the Cape. He rose higher and higher, till at length he obtained his present situation.

her mother had resolved upon with regard to me, we saw her coming towards us with her two youngest daughters: and as she had espied us, we durst not endeavour to avoid her. I was not a little disturbed at this unexpected meeting; especially when she approached nearer to us, and I was able, from the anger flashing from her eyes, to form a conjecture of the inward workings of her mind. I addressed her, and begged pardon for having presumed to walk with her daughter; that as I was returning from the fort, I had accidentally met her in the garden, and asked her permission to attend her home. Contrary to my expectation, I received a friendly answer from the mother, was desired to remain with them a little longer in the garden, and afterwards to accompany them to a beautiful vineyard near Cape-town, called the *Red-Flower*. Accordingly I walked with them to the vineyard; we conversed about various subjects, and did not return till the evening; when I even had the honour to sup with my mistress. After supper I retired to my apartment, where I continued some hours settling some accounts: while in the midst of my work, a female slave brought me orders immediately to attend my mistress. I hastened to her room, and was received in the most friendly manner; at last she said to me, "Now that we are without witnesses, tell me

the truth: did you not make an assignation with my daughter to meet in the Company's garden? and have you not designs upon her? for I have observed that she frequently enters your room." I was at a loss what to say, but at length repeated what I had told her in the garden, pleaded my cause as well as I could, and endeavoured to convince her that her daughter had never visited me but in company with her brother, and had always conversed with me upon indifferent subjects, and especially upon the sedateness of my conduct. All my excuses were rejected, and she continued: "my daughter has confessed to me the whole business, I am acquainted with your views; by vain attempts to conceal any thing from me, you will therefore greatly injure yourself, for I alone am able to promote your prosperity, and to make you a man of respectability and fortune." This speech was followed by menaces and promises; but I persisted in what I had said before, wished her a good night, and left the room, while she was calling out after me, "I shall know, Sir, how to render you more communicative." From all this, and from the whole tenour of her conduct, it was easy to discern her views; I was therefore obliged to proceed with the utmost prudence and caution, lest I should plunge myself into the most abject misery by first gratifying her desires, and afterwards becoming the

the object of her persecution and malignity. Instances of this kind happened frequently during my residence at the Cape ; I shall, however, relate only one, from which a judgment may be formed on the character of the women at the Cape: A respectable gentleman, of the name of Munch, was married to a beautiful young lady ; and in order to remove every temptation, he admitted no strangers into his house ; he kept a tutor however, for his three children, of the name of Lupmann, a native of Prussia.* His wife endeavoured to gain the affections of this young man, and to engage him in a criminal intercourse. He went one day after the hours of business into the garden behind the house, and amused himself with pruning the vines ; his mistress, perceiving him from the window, called to him, and desired that he would come up into her room and dispel her *ennui*. He obeyed ; and either from hurry or mistake took the pruning knife with him into the room. The lady locked the door, and then made him propositions which it was not in his power to repel. Hearing on a sudden the voice of her husband, whose return she had not expected so soon, the

* He was born at Hausbergen, in the vicinity of Minden, where he held the place of a forester. Through the interest of Colonel Gordon he afterwards obtained a more lucrative office.

base woman, in order to save herself from reproach and disgrace, shrieked in the most dreadful manner, and called for assistance. Her husband hastened to her room but found the doors locked, which she pretended to be unable to open. He therefore ordered some of his slaves to break it open, and found the tutor, in whom he had hitherto placed a boundless confidence, in a state of apparent perplexity and consternation, and his wife in tears. She immediately flew to him, showed him the knife and said—"With this knife the base villain has threatened to murder me because I would not comply with his wicked desires; I was compelled to exert myself to the utmost to wrest it from him, and prevent his murderous design; your presence alone has rescued me from death." The unfortunate tutor being struck dumb with fear, and unable to utter a word in his defence, his silence became an additional motive with the husband to credit the assertions of his wife; he therefore caused him immediately to be lodged in the Drunk,* to be tried on the two-fold charge of adultery and murder. He was found guilty, and condemned to be transported in irons for thirty years to a neighbouring island. This rigorous sentence was, however, soon altered through the interces-

* The principal gaol at the Cape.

lion of Colonel Gordon, who, being acquainted with the character of Mrs. Munch, gave full credit to the declaration of the tutor, and contrived to gain the confidence of her favourite slave. By this means he was confirmed in his opinion of the veracity of the tutor, took him under his protection, and ordered him to be removed to the Castle; informing the Court that he was convinced, by the testimony of irreproachable witnesses, that the tutor was by no means so guilty as he was supposed to be, and that, if they persisted in the sentence passed, he should report the case to the government of the United Provinces, and also send two witnesses to Holland. *Munch* at first would not relax; but his wife, being aware that in the end she might be called to an account and punished, contrived to put a period to the whole business, by representing to her husband that he would do well to save the enormous expence attending proceedings of this nature, and to resign the base tutor to the vengeance of heaven. These arguments satisfied the husband; the proceedings were stopped, and the tutor was set at liberty. I could relate a great variety of similar stories, but I shall resume the narrative of my own events. I usually received my breakfast at seven o'clock, but this morning none was sent to me. At ten o'clock I sent a slave to my mistress to ask

for my breakfast; she sent it me, accompanied however with this intimation, that I must myself fetch the breakfast, as well as whatever else I might want. After dinner I was ordered to bottle off some wine; I did so, but as a few bottles, which had been damaged by the slaves in cleaning them, broke, I was reprimanded in the most violent manner, nay, threatened with blows. This treatment excited my utmost indignation; I threw the letter, which I held in my hand, on the ground, hastened into my room, dressed myself, and left the house. I went to the Castle, and informed Major Blümer of what had happened, who advised me to stay with him until the return of my master. This advice met with my fullest approbation; I returned, however, once more to my habitation, packed up what small effects I possessed, and wrote a note to my mistress, wherein I informed her that I was going to join my master, and that therefore it would not be in her power to report me to the Governor as a deserter. I thought it my duty to follow my master, although I was perfectly sensible that I could not long continue in his service, being persecuted by his wife, who completely governed him. I must here declare, that in the course of my travels I have visited no country where the women govern their husbands in so despotic a manner as at the Cape.

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The major gave me also a letter for my master, and I set off, happy in having escaped the ill treatment of a base woman. On my journey it struck me, that as, according to my engagement, I had to serve five years longer, it would be better to entreat my master either to replace me in my first post, or among the guards of the line. My master was astonished at my arrival; I was obliged to acquaint him with the cause of my journey, which I did, adding my request, to be released from my present employment, and to be placed again in my former post or among the guards of the line. "At present," he replied, "I can do nothing for you; as soon as I return to Cape-town I will provide you with some place or other; in the mean time you shall stay with me."

On the fifth day after my arrival came an express with the intelligence, that three English ships had dropped anchor in the bay, which caused my master to return immediately to town, where we arrived the next day. No body took the least notice of me on my arrival in the house; my room was locked and nobody offered to open it. I remained therefore in the passage, until my master, coming out of his room, found me there; he asked, why I did not go into my room? and on telling him in reply, that it was locked, he fetched the key and

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returned

returned to his room while I went into mine. I found every thing there in the utmost confusion, and was employed in arranging some books and writings, when I was called by my master. It clearly appeared from his countenance that something had happened ; he bid me follow him into his room. The confusion was still greater there than in my own room ; letters, bills, writings, lay all tumbled together. I was struck with terror and amazement, and called to an account by my master ; but I answered him, that long before my departure the key had been taken from me. I assisted him in collecting and arranging the scattered papers, but we soon found that many of them were missing, a discovery which enraged my master to such a degree, that he bid me go about my business, and locked the door. His wife was first called to an account, but she was prepared to meet the charge, because she had deliberately removed the papers for the sole purpose of injuring me. She told her husband with the utmost impudence, that immediately after his departure I had been in the room, rummaged and searched it all over, and put some papers into my pocket which had induced her to take the key from me. She then ran up to me with the visage of a fury, attempted to seize me by the hair, and to ill-treat me. My master, who had followed her, endeavoured to keep her
off

off, and assured her that I should be severely punished; but she attacked me again, collared me, and struck me in the face. Enraged at this treatment, I threw her on the ground, left the house and hastened to the castle. Major *Blumer* not being at home, I applied to Colonel Gordon, gave him a faithful account of what had happened, and requested him to place me on military duty. He replied, that he must first speak to my master, on whose interference in my favour he should see what he could do for me; in the meanwhile he ordered me to remain with Serjeant *Schuster*. The latter soon disclosed to me what would be my fate; they would not suffer me, he said, to remain in the Castle, but would send me by the first ship to Batavia, where I should be obliged to remain all the future term of my servitude. He at the same time depicted to me both the country and service of Batavia in such frightful colours, that I lost all my courage. Lieutenant Von Baalan,* who joined us soon after, confirmed the truth of *Schuster's* account, adding, that I might have made my fortune at the Cape had I flattered the vanity of Mrs. Brand, and had better understood the value of her wishes.

* This gentleman, who embarked in Holland as a common seilor, by three years of service had obtained a lieutenant's commission.

But

But what was I now to do? To remain at the Cape was, under the present circumstances, utterly impossible; and I could not think of going to Batavia, of which I had received so disgusting a description. I resolved, therefore, to desert; but whither? That was the question. I could not venture on board an English ship, since Mr. Brand, on being informed of it, would certainly have insisted on my being delivered up to him. Without considering the great difficulties and fatigues, the extreme dangers and misery to which I exposed myself, I therefore determined upon returning to Europe by land, and executed this design in the following manner:

About dusk I went to my master, and entreated him to keep me in his service, but to send me back to *False-bay*, as he must be sensible that I could not exist under the same roof with his wife. At first he disapproved of my proposal, but at length consented, on my assuring him that I would rather join the Company than remain under the orders of such a woman. I was however obliged to stay a few days longer, as some English officers were expected, and as *Rapeh*, who was ordered hither from *False-bay* to supply my place, was not yet arrived. On the following day six English officers
actually

actually arrived, and in the evening *Rapeh* also made his appearance.

On the 4th November, 1783, I set out for the bay, delivered my trunk to the driver of the Company's waggon, and sold the arrears of my wages, as well as those effects which became useless, from the resolution which I had embraced. Among the garrison of the *Meisenberg* (Meisenmount) was a corporal of the name of *Martens*,* a native of the

* From this gentleman M. Vaillant received a variety of useful information, and probably also much of that which he afterwards published as his own observations, and as the result of his own researches. Whoever is in the least acquainted with the Cape, must know that it costs considerable trouble to obtain permission to undertake a journey into the country, even on foot, and without the least baggage, &c.; and yet at a time when the best understanding did not prevail between Holland and France, M. Vaillant pretends to have travelled there with a great retinue. It is well known that a French regiment in the pay of the Company was obliged to leave the country, merely because the officers used to reside several weeks with the planters, without the least attempt to make such enquiries as M. Vaillant pretends to have made. He endeavours to render his assertions plausible by saying, that he did not travel by the common road, and that he carefully avoided the habitations of the planters. But admitting this to be true, at the time of his journey, his undertaking at least could not have remained unknown at the Cape; nor can his collection of natural curiosities be alledged as a proof of his
having

the Electorate of Hanover, who, having attended Colonel Gordon on a journey into the interior, as far as *Caffraria*, had projected a map of the country which he had traversed, and presented it to the company, in the hope of receiving a handsome reward; but instead of obtaining any recompense, he was ordered never in future to attempt drawing a similar map, on pain of thirty years imprisonment in irons; yet, regardless of this threat, he would frequently shut himself up in his room, and draw similar maps. I courted and obtained his friendship; but nevertheless, he always carefully concealed his work as soon as I entered the room. One day, however, I took an opportunity of telling him that I knew perfectly well what he was about, and that he had no reason to be afraid of me, as I was likewise extremely fond of things of this kind, and entreated him to let me

having actually performed his pretended journey, for they may be bought in Cape-town of the inhabitants, slaves and Hottentots. I should not, however, deny, that the Governor may have given M. Vaillant leave to visit some individual planter; but I incline to think, that he appropriated to himself the observations made by Colonel Gordon, in the course of the voyage which he undertook in the name of the Governor. I am also to observe, that every new Governor is bound to perform a journey in the country as far as it belongs to the Company; but Governor Plöthenberg sent Colonel Gordon in his stead.

have

have one of his maps of the interior of the country. This he refused, but allowed me to take some copies of his original drawings. I immediately set to work, and succeeded tolerably well. Within a short time I was fully prepared for my journey, but could not depart till the 24th December, when I requested and obtained leave of Sergeant Schnecko to go to the Cape. I left the bay about noon, and steered my course towards a plantation which, from a former governor of the name of Stiel, has taken the appellation of *Stieleff's Bush*, or *Giore*. But before I enter upon the narrative of my arrival in Stiel's Bush, and my subsequent travels, I shall here insert a table of the company's yearly revenue and expence. By so doing, I trust I shall render an acceptable service to many of my readers, as my statement may be relied upon, it being chiefly extracted from authentic papers in the possession of my master.

According to the general account for the year 1782, the Company's annual revenue and expence stood as follows :

REVENUE.

dollars.

Chr. Bamm, to whom the duty on wine
was let, paid

43,000

Maier,

	dollars.
Maier, who farmed the duty on meat,	19,300
Gottfried Jan farmed the duty on wine, coffee and fugar, at	8,600
The Company's own houses on the Cape, and in Stoellen-bush produced	3,272
Each house, whatever business may be carried on in it, pays eight dollars per annum, and these buildings are 409 in number. In addition to this sum every burgher pays an excise duty on every article consumed in his house, and provides an uniform for himself, and a variety of accoutrements and implements. In war-time every burgher is compelled to do duty as a soldier. The greatest part keep horses and serve as cavalry, and the rest do duty as foot soldiers in the newly erected large battery called New Amsterdam.	
House-keepers, who are not burghers, emancipated slaves, and the Company's servants, who rent houses, which are at the same time held in fee simple by burghers, pay each of them twelve dollars for the use of the house. The number of those houses being 110, the sum which they produce is	1,320
	Every

dollars.

Every planter being obliged to pay the tenth part of his income in ready money, or to suffer himself to be assessed at that rate, the Company's revenue under this head is as follows :

From the low grounds, chiefly laid out in	
Gardens - - - - -	2,007
From the large and small Constanze -	1,240
From Steinberg, the Round-bush, and	
Red-flower - - - - -	2,370
From the Black-land, Red-sand, and Cart-	
wrights' quarter. - - - - -	1,790
From False-bay, Snake's-head, Nothen-	
hook, and Three-heads - - - - -	2,076
From Stiel's-bush, which is the largest	
plantation, contains 106 burghers, and	
a church, and is governed by a Lord	
Lieutenant - - - - -	3,007
From the French-back, Hottentot's-island,	
and Socorws-dale - - - - -	1,090
From Sheep-mount, Mothergate, and	
Battle-bay - - - - -	9,70
From Drane-rock, Horse-mount, and Sil-	
ver-mine - - - - -	1,212
From Simon's-dale, Perlmount, and Wag-	
gon-dale - - - - -	1,309
	From

	dollars.
From Rietbeck's castle, barracks, and Honey-mount - - - - -	2,080
From Piquet-mount, Wind-mill, and the twenty-four rivers - - - - -	1,958
The rest of the planters, who reside at a greater distance in the country, likewise contribute to the public revenue; in 1782 their number amounted to 338 (27 of whom were yet yet enjoying an exemption from taxes), and paid in the whole - - - - -	7,340
For each slave, purchased by a burgher or planter, a duty of 10 dollars is paid; the number of slaves thus bought, amount- ing annually to about 50, the revenue is, upon an average - - - - -	500
The annual poll-tax for each slave is 5 dol- lars; supposing their number to amount to 8000, the sum total is - - - - -	40,000
Total of the Revenue	144,441

The planters are moreover bound to sell some articles to the Company at a certain reduced price; e. g. 100 pounds of barley, wheat, beans, peas, &c. for 12 groffen.

The meat-farmers are also obliged to deliver to the

the company stands in need of, at a certain rate; for instance, a sheep for 12 groshen,* a bullock for 1 dollar and 12 groshen.

The company pay also very low prices to the planters for wine, that is, 12 dollars for a cask of about 800 cans.

The anchorage paid by foreign bottoms, goes also into the Company's chests, but cannot be placed to account, as the Company itself must pay the same anchorage in foreign harbours, and the revenue and expenditure under this head are nearly balanced.

EXPENDITURE.

	dollars.
To repairs of the fortifications and batteries	2,000
To the Governor	25,000
This officer is obliged to keep four clerks and twelve horses	
To the deputy-governor or vice-president	10,000
To the Company-master as intendant of shipping	15,000
To the chief magistrate of the city or president of the civic council, who is obliged to keep two clerks and six horses	18,000

* A grosh is about one penny three farthings English money.

	dollars.
To the Attorney-General	8,000

The other persons who hold places under government, and are called assistants, have all 1000 dollars a year; the oldest of them having something more, the whole expence under this head amounts for 27 to 30,000

The officers who do not belong to the military, and are called *bas*, receive very little pay, amounting usually to about 240 dollars per annum: they are 14 in number, and receive in the whole 3,360

The warrant-officers, who do not properly belong to the military, receive still less, in general 59 dollars each; which amounts for 20 to 1,180

The artificers employed by the Company, such as smiths, rope-makers, &c. receive 59 dollars; they are 300 in number, and the whole of their pay amounts to 1,770

Two quartermen, and ten shipwrights, receive 70 dollars, making in the whole 840

Seamen who are constantly employed at different

dollars.

different places, as for instance, in the dockyards, or in False-bay, &c. each in proportion to his services, from 3 to 6 dollars, and free rations of rice, &c. the whole amounting to	6,943
The head bailiff receives	2,500
The two under bailiffs receive	600
Three Calvinist clergymen, in the service of the Company	900
The three physicians belonging to the hospital	3,000
To the maintenance of the 140 slaves belonging to the Company	1,000
The under-staff, i. e. the public executioner, his assistant, &c. &c.	1,500
Twelve Caffrees, who are appointed overseers to maintain strict discipline among the slaves	300
Those foldiers who are employed at Capetown in felling wood, burning lime, or as labourers, and therefore are not included in the regular list of the military, receive in proportion to their merit,	
D 2	from

dollars.

from 9 to 12 florins* each, and even more. There are about 160 of them, and their pay amounts to 16,000

The pay of the garrison, consisting of 500 soldiers, 180 artillerymen, &c. amounts to 183,100

Total Expenditure 330,993

The hospital costs the Company nothing, as there is a sufficient store of beds, kitchen utensils, mattresses, and other articles; and as every patient must give up his pay for his maintenance as long as he remains there: indeed if he is only a few days in the hospital, he must give up his month's pay. For the reception, maintenance, and attendance on the sick brought from other ships, the respective captains must provide, paying for each patient immediately on his admittance, in advance for fourteen days, a Dutch florin for each day.

For rice and arrack, which the Company brings to the Cape from the East Indies, they receive in return bread and wine for the ships.

* The florin is worth about 1s. 2d. of English money.

Many

Many readers will be surpris'd to find from the above statement, that the Dutch East India Company draws so inconsiderable a revenue from the Cape, and have such heavy expences to defray: but they must consider, that the possession of the Cape is almost indispensably necessary to them for the security of their ships sailing to India, as they are there supplied with fresh provisions, water, wine, &c. &c. I omitted above another heavy expence which the Company have to defray: namely, the maintaining a foreign regiment here. Not deeming the usual garrison sufficient for the defence of the Cape against an attack of the enemy, they took into pay for several years successively, a French regiment, and stationed it here. It is easy for every reader to form to himself an idea of the great expence which such a regiment of from twelve to fourteen hundred men must occasion. And as these mercenaries, when they had formed acquaintances at the Cape, and in a manner become orientalized, were usually brought back to their own country, and others sent to the Cape in their stead; considerable additional sums must have been expended for transports, &c. In the course of a few years, four French regiments were in garrison here.

The

The Company might derive many other advantages from the Cape, and might diminish their expences, if their servants in power acted with more uprightness, and with greater attention to the interests of their employers. On the form of government at the Cape, on the manners of the inhabitants, &c. &c. Vaillant and other travellers have communicated to the public important and just observations.

CHAP. II.

The Author commences his Journey into the Interior of the Country—He purchases a new Carabine of the Head-bailiff at Stielens Bosch—Powder and Ball he partly receives as a Present, and partly endeavours to procure the like Necessaries by other means, and then pursues his Journey—At first he passes the Night at the Houses of some of the Planters ; but afterwards avoids them, and either takes shelter in the Kraals of the Hottentots, or remains all night in the open Air, kindling a Fire that he may sleep secure from the Attacks of wild Beasts—The Author often contradicts the Accounts published by Vaillant, and even maintains that he did not travel through this Part of the Country.

ON the 25th of December, in the evening, I safely arrived at Stielens Bosch : here I was acquainted with the head-bailiff, who had often seen me at Brand's : I repaired, full of confidence, to his house, and was well received. He questioned me concerning the object of my journey : and I told him, that I had many things to regulate at my master's estate. Here I purchased a new carabine, which I did without difficulty, as I pretended

that I wanted it merely for the purpose of defending myself, in case I should be ill-treated by Brand's land-steward, Barensmahl, against whom many complaints had been made to my master. On the 26th, accompanied by the two sons of the head-bailiff, I proceeded about seven English miles farther to the estate of another acquaintance, named Münch. He was just on the point of setting out from Cape-town; this intelligence greatly terrified me; but I endeavoured immediately to recollect and compose myself, for fear of exciting suspicion; and I met with a very friendly reception on telling him that I was on my way to Mrs. Brand's estate. I requested Mr. Münch, to whom I shewed the carabine, to furnish me with a pound of gunpowder, either for ready money, or upon condition to return him the same quantity again. He made me a present of two pounds and of thirty balls; and promised sometimes to visit me after his return from the Cape, for the purpose of going with me on a hunting expedition. I expressed great joy at this proposal, and promised to make every thing as agreeable to him as possible. After refreshing myself I took my leave of Mr. Münch, of whom I begged that he would not mention at the Cape that I had been with him, as my mistress had forbidden me to call at his house. It is not indeed usual at the Cape to pursue a deserter who flees

flees towards the interior of the country, as they believe that he cannot easily escape in that direction : there was not, therefore, any absolute necessity to request Mr. Münch to be silent about my arrival at his house ; I deemed it, however, more prudent to take that precaution.

On the 27th I arrived in the neighbourhood of Brand's estate ; but concealed myself till night and then went directly to the habitation of the slaves, that I might not be observed by Barensmahl. I likewise forbade the slaves to notify my arrival to him, as I intended to proceed further the next day. I supped on some rice and fish, but my mind being oppressed with care and anxiety, I was unable to sleep. Before break of day I desired the herdsmen to put me into the way to Gerhard Hütter's Settlement, which is situated four miles* farther. Before I parted from him I requested some gun-powder of him, pretending that I had lost my own ; and promised to send him from Capetown double the quantity he might lend me. He accordingly gave me half a pound, reserving only a small quantity for himself to defend the cattle from the attacks of wild animals. The road led

* The German mile, to which the author alludes, is equal to about three English miles and a quarter.

through

through a thicket, where I saw several tygers which were basking in the sun, and lying stretched out upon the rocks: I was much terrified when I observed that they had seen me; but none of them stirred from their situation. To the right and to the left of me I espied habitations belonging to the planters; but I carefully avoided them, though much tormented by hunger and thirst. Quite exhausted, I at length arrived at Mr. Hütter's, who was just returned from hunting, and was taking some refreshment. He welcomed me in a friendly manner, enquired after my master, and questioned me concerning the object of my journey, and several other things. I related to him the most recent occurrences at the Cape, and told him that I had been commissioned by my master to purchase skins from Thomas Dreyer.* Mr. Hütter believed all I said, entertained me in a hospitable manner, and on the following morning furnished me with a horse as far as Thomas Dreyer's habitation, which lay two miles and a

* Dreyer had been a game-keeper; he possessed a considerable estate, and kept seventy-six slaves. Brand bought the furs and skins of him; and had them so far dressed and prepared, that they might be sent by sea to England.

half further up the country. When I arrived at Dreyer's, I sent back the horse by the Hottentot who had been ordered to accompany me. Dreyer was not at home : his wife informed me that he was gone to Stielens Bofeh, and would not return till six days after : but told me I might remain at her house as long as I pleased. I accepted her offer, and staid there three nights. I now formed a resolution to avoid entering in future any of the houses of the planters, lest I should perhaps at last be detained as a deserter ; in pursuing my journey I therefore kept at a distance from all habitations. I halted for the night in the vicinity of the planter Meyback's dwelling, at a place where cattle had been feeding. I slept soundly till towards morning, when I was awakened by the howling of wolves. The dew had penetrated my cloaths, and I shivered with cold ; I therefore rose, pursued my journey, and after walking two hours, came to the fields of a planter of the name of Mühlmann : here I found his slaves, of whom I requested some food ; two of them presented to me their portions of rice and fish, and in return I gave each of them a guilder, and then proceeded forwards. Towards evening I arrived at Satani-bay ; I ascended the adjoining mountain, from which I could overlook the sea and an extensive tract of country ; here I made a large fire, and lay down to sleep without
any

any apprehension of danger. At break of day I resumed my journey, and soon reached the neighbourhood of the estate of one Woltmann. Wishing to speak to the slaves, I sent to their habitation and found there the master of the settlement : he took me to his apartment, hospitably entertained me, and enquired concerning the object of my journey.* I replied, that my master had given me permission to make an excursion of pleasure as far as Blettenberg-bay. I halted three days at Woltmann's house, and then in company with a slave, who was sent along with me as a guide to carry my baggage, and proceeded to Mr. Spittler's estate, which lies on the Salt-riviere, at the distance of three miles from Satani-bay. After I had taken some refreshment at this place, I pursued my journey through thickets and trackless parts, for the purpose of avoiding all habitations: when in want of food, I repaired to the pastures and fields, and bought some provisions of the slaves. The smaller rivers were for the most part dried up, and were therefore crossed without danger. Mr. Vail-

* Most of the planters knew me; as the articles delivered by them into the storehouses under my master's superintendence, were generally weighed or measured by me: and every planter was usually, during his stay in the town, invited once or oftener to dinner by Mr. Brand.

lant maintains, that in this part of the country he found an extraordinarily great quantity of wild beasts: but every one who is acquainted with the state of the country, must be aware how many colonists are settled there, and how intent these colonists are upon the destroying these wild beasts, will consequently perceive that M. Vaillant's assertion is unfounded.

On this occasion I shall make a few observations respecting the colonists; and then proceed with the narrative of my journey.

The colonists of the Cape of Good Hope are not possessed of much ready money: their riches consist chiefly of cattle and slaves. The poorest of them has at least ten slaves, which, on his first forming a settlement, are lent him by the East India Company, the colonist paying an annual interest of ten guilders* for each. If he wishes to have the slaves as his own property, he must give a bond of two hundred guilders for each, payable within ten years, either in money or with corn, or some other products of his farm. Most of the colonists follow the chase; and each of them receives from the Company annually four pounds of gun-powder and one pound of lead, and likewise shot-money,

* A guilder is worth about 1s. 9d. English.

if he delivers the skins to the Company's agents. The remuneration for killing wild beasts is paid according to the following table :

			rix dolls.	groshes.
For an elephant	-	-	3	0
— A rhinoceros	-	-	2	3
— A camel	-	-	2	12
— A wild buffalo	-	-	1	18
— An elk	-	-	2	12
— A lion	-	-	1	0
— A tyger	-	-	1	0
— A zebra	-	-	1	0
— A wild-boar	-	-	2	0
— A gems-buck	-	-	0	6
— A wild dog	-	-	0	16
— A tyger-cat	-	-	0	12
— A hyæna	-	-	1	12
— A giraffe	-	-	2	0

But it is more to their advantage to carry the skins for sale to the ships, where they receive a higher price for them. It has been remarked by the hunters that several of the wild animals of this country migrate from place to place, either at the rutting season; or at the time of coupling, or when there is a deficiency of water in their usual haunts. That herds of several hundred wild beasts are here
seen

seen together, is likewise an unfounded assertion, except perhaps the calizes.

The by-way on which I now entered was very fatiguing, for the thickets, and broken pieces of the rocks, rendered it almost impassable. It is the same which Vaillant pretends to have passed with his caravan. But I may venture to maintain that he never travelled through this part of the country; for the whole tract is so rough and pathless, that even a single person must often with great labour and difficulty force a passage through it, as for instance at the place called the *Hollow Cliff*, where I was obliged to climb up the rocks with great danger. I thought I had overcome all obstacles, when I reached the summit of the rocky mountain; but I soon discovered my error; for then I discovered that I must descend again, and that before me were precipices and steep shelving rocks. As there was no alternative, I was under the necessity of making the attempt; but was several times in danger of tumbling down headlong, as, while I hung by the hands to one piece of rock, I could not reach with my feet that beneath me.

On the 19th of February I arrived at Blettenbergh-bay, and immediately repaired to the house of Mr. Vortmeyer: I found only his wife at home, and

and from her I learned that her husband was gone to Schwellendamm, and would not return within three days. She pressed me to wait his return, and assigned me a chamber in an out-building to sleep in. I willingly accepted her offer, and during my stay took a view of the country, endeavoured to gain from the Hottentots in her service some information respecting the roads, and to furnish myself with several necessary articles. I had the good fortune to obtain a calabash,* several pounds of gun-powder, a tinder-box, brimstone, and some other useful articles. The tract of country in the neighbourhood of Blettenbergh-bay is very beautiful and fertile; and I am surprised that the commodiousness of the situation did not long ago suggest the project of building a city here; for within a compass of 200 miles there is to be found here excellent water, abundance of fire-wood and of timber fit for building, larger and more delicious fruits than I have seen elsewhere, and the harbour is capable of containing about fifty ships. The Danes, French and Portugeze often visit the bay, as provisions are cheaper here than at the Cape. The East India Company

* It generally consists of gourd scooped hollow and dried in the sun, and is used instead of a flask for the purpose of carrying water.

has indeed ordered that no foreign ships, unless driven into the bay by a storm, should be permitted to remain at anchor there, or receive from the shore more than three days water and provisions; otherwise if ships were permitted to lay in a sufficient supply here, the Company would lose the anchorage-dues, which are now paid at the Cape. For the purpose, therefore, of preventing an unlawful intercourse with foreign ships, a serjeant and six soldiers are stationed here as a guard: but these men, being more attentive to their own interest than to that of the Company, accept bribes, and consequently suffer an uninterrupted intercourse and traffic between the colonists and the ships which touch there. The name of the serjeant who had the command here was Von Schell; he was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Prussian service.

On the 25th Vogtmeyer returned home: he received me in a very friendly manner, but at the same time told me that he well knew I was a deserter, and that he should conduct me back to Cape-town, for which service he should certainly receive thirty florins from Mr. Brand. I was thunderstruck on hearing this, and already pictured to myself in imagination the cruel treat-

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ment that would follow such a step. My fears, however, were soon dispelled when he added, that if he might receive an hundred florins, yet he would not betray me; on the contrary, if I would sincerely confide to him my designs, he would do every thing in his power to assist me. I told him that I was resolved to travel through the interior countries of Africa, whatever might be the event of such an undertaking. He laughed, called me a headstrong madman, and endeavoured to persuade me to relinquish my design. When he found that his arguments produced no effect upon me, he wished every success to attend me, and supplied me with a knapsack made of calves' skins, a small hatchet, and several other articles, which might prove of service to me on my intended journey.

On the 26th of February, Vogtmeyer put me into the road to Caffraria, and we then took a friendly farewell of each other. The distance from this place to the borders was yet twenty seven German miles, and I was already seventy-four from Cape-town. I avoided the settlements of the planters, and for that purpose kept to the south-east, leaving them to my right. I passed through large forests, and crossed immense mountains. On
the

the following day I arrived at the first Hottentot-Kraal, which consisted of about twenty huts, and was called, after the name of the chief, *Wabbab's Kraal*. A herdsman espied me coming, and hastened to the kraal to announce my arrival: immediately two stout fellows, young Hottentots, came forth, with javelins in their hands, viewed me, and then advanced towards me, inquiring whether I came alone, whether I belonged to the colonists, and to what place I intended to go. I answered their questions as well as I could, and was then conducted by them into the kraal to the *Montur*, for so the chief is called. He ordered them to give me some milk, and he himself presented me with some maize which had been roasted, for which I paid a Dutch florin. I requested a night's lodging: he not only granted my request, but gave me an invitation to remain in the kraal as long as I pleased, and added that he would take care to supply me with provisions. Towards evening almost all the inhabitants of the kraal assembled on a green before the hut of the chief, and diverted themselves with singing and dancing. Soon after the dancing had commenced, some young women came into our hut, and requested us to join them: we immediately complied. The young girls quite naked mingled in the dances with the young men, many of whom were like-

wife naked.* I knew that the habitation of the colonist Walther, who distilled brandy-wine, was not above three English miles distant from the kraal:

* The unmarried female Hottentots wear no cloathing; but the married women wear a small apron to cover their nudities. Many of the young girls, especially if they are pretty, are married as early as the age of eight or nine years. The Hottentots do not appear to have any laws against fornication; for among them married men, under certain restrictions, are allowed to cohabit with unmarried women, and unmarried men have still greater liberties. M. Vaillant, then, is mistaken when he extols the young Hottentot girls as particularly chaste and virtuous. Adultery on the part of the wife is severely punished by the whole horde: but a husband is permitted to have sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl, during the time that his wife is in child-bed. At this place I likewise had an opportunity of confirming by the evidence of sight a fact in natural history, which I had before met with in several books of travels, and had often heard related at the Cape, viz. the singular conformation of the external parts of generation of some of the Hottentot women. I first observed this variation in a young naked girl; and I spoke to her concerning it. She told me that these parts in grown-up women were also formed in the same manner, and promised, for a reward, to fetch one of them to me. I gave her a florin; she quickly ran, and actually brought with her a married woman, but this woman wore an apron. Another florin, however, obtained for me permission to make the necessary examinations, and I observed both in her and the unmarried girl the following circumstances: The *labia pudendi* were from three to four inches long, and formed,

kraal: I accordingly wrote a note to the proprietor, enclosing three guilders, for which I desired him to send me some shirts. The chief dispatched a man with this note, who, in a few hours, returned with a small cask of spirits, the three florins I had sent to pay for it, and a letter from Walther, containing an invitation to visit him the following morning.

The leader, or chieftain, to whom I delivered the brandy, gave a dram to every one present,

formed, over the orifice, where they were folded one over another, a sort of a lock, which opens of itself, when excited by the expanding of the *labia*. M. Vaillant gives an extravagant description of this fact, and even says, that those who wish to have the parts thus shaped, hang stones or pieces of heavy metal to the *labia*, by which means they are lengthened as above described. Every one will easily perceive the absurdity of this assertion. At the Cape I heard this singular appearance accounted for in the same manner: but many of the Hottentot women with whom I conversed on the subject, laughed at the idea, and assured me that the assertion was false, and that no such means were employed. In his description of the beauty and cleanliness of the Hottentot women, M. Vaillant likewise exceeds the bounds of sober truth. Among the bastard Hottentots there are indeed many beautiful and cleanly women and girls; but I observed very few such among those who live in kraals. A high forehead, hollow eyes, flat noses, thick lips, and shaggy woolly heads, do not in my idea constitute beauty.

and ordered the rest to be deposited in his hut. About midnight we went to rest; I slept tolerably well on a mat in the back part of the hut. About eight o'clock in the morning I was awakened by my host, who offered me some milk and a piece of broiled mutton; he at the same time entreated me to stay with him a few days longer, to which I agreed. At noon I paid a visit to Mr. Walther, who received me kindly, and forbore asking any question respecting the purpose of my journey. On taking leave of him, I offered to pay for the brandy, but he declined accepting any money, adding, that if some day or other he should come to the Cape, I might be able to do him a favour in return, which I promised I would. On my re-joining the kraal, I was informed, that most of the men were gone a hunting. A girl, eight years old, a daughter of my host, was the only human being I found in the hut. For some time I was unable to account for her indecent behaviour, till I perceived that she had made free with the brandy and was intoxicated. She treated me as a Hottentot, with whom she had been long acquainted, embraced me, and at last threw herself down on the ground. I endeavoured to get her to rest; she grew quiet, and slept till the evening. In the meanwhile I lay down on the grass before the hut. Her father, on his return, enquired after his daughter;

daughter; I told him that on my coming home, I had immediately laid down in this place, and therefore could not tell whether she was in the hut or not: he went in and found her, but remained ignorant of what had happened. I continued nine days with this horde, and made so many acquaintances, that they at last endeavoured to prevail upon me to settle here and take a wife. I declined this proposal as well as I could, but promised to pay them another visit, and found an opportunity of pursuing my journey, in company with four Hottentots of another kraal, who had come to purchase some sheep. All my acquaintance were extremely concerned at my departure, and I should have felt happy in rendering myself useful to these good-natured people, if the plan and purpose of my journey had permitted me to remain longer with them. Our road lay over the Milk-mountain, where we encountered many difficulties and troubles, our way being constantly obstructed by brambles and reed-grass, so that the first day, though we travelled only two miles, we were nevertheless extremely fatigued. We passed the night on the banks of the Silver-river,* without

* This river is small, but it contains water all the year round. M. Vaillant has made no mention of it, although,

without enjoying one moment's sleep, as the wolves gathered around us, endeavouring to fall upon our sheep. We durst not venture to kindle a fire, lest we should be burnt in the high half-dried grafs; my fellow travellers, the Hottentots, therefore, applied themselves to making mats of reed-grafs* by the light of the moon.

In the morning we reached the summit of the Milk-mountain, where we found good grafs, sat down to breakfast, and turned the sheep to graze. I had scarcely began to eat, when on looking round I perceived ten men hastening up to us with the utmost speed: I asked my fellow travellers, who

he pretends to have crossed other rivers in the neighbourhood, he must necessarily have met with the Silver-river. The wa-water is of a good flavour, and silver colour. From the latter circumstance it has, by the account of the Hottentots, obtained its name.

* With this grafs they cover their huts, and render them so tight that not a drop of water can soak through them: the same is the case with the baskets, in which they keep the milk. M. Vaillant is mistaken when he says that they cover their huts with skins. They had perhaps hung up some skins at the top of the huts to dry, when he enquired into their manner of roofing their habitations. They dress the skins in this way: they take off the hair with sharp-edged bones, especially with the skulls of sheep and bullocks, grease them well, and expose them to the sun to dry.

had

had not yet seen them, whether they knew who they were, and what their intentions were by their making up to us. They were so terrified at sight of them that they could hardly give me an answer: at last, however, I understood from them that they were Boschmen, and intended to rob them of their sheep. I exhorted them to take courage, prepared for defence, charged my carabine, and directed my companions how to act: I then fired on the Boschmen, and one of them fell; the rest threw some javelins and fled.* My companions were highly pleased with my conduct, and expressed their esteem for me both by words and gestures. We now quitted the mountain, and soon reached a hamlet, where we refreshed ourselves, and afterwards pursued our journey. The

* It has been asserted by several travellers, that these Boschmen are a bastard species of Hottentots. M. Vaillant is of the same opinion; but I am thoroughly convinced that there are as many individuals of other nations among them as Hottentots. Nay, Europeans sometimes take shelter among the Boschmen, if they desert from the ships or the garrisons. In the very neighbourhood of Cape-town, between Table-mount and Lion-head, exists a band, composed of fugitives of several nations, who subsist entirely on plunder, and at times do considerable damage to the inhabitants of the town. Their nightly fires were visible from the town.

night

night being very fine we took advantage of it, and continued our journey; in the morning we reached the village where my companions lived; being worn out with fatigue, and not having enjoyed the least sleep for several nights together, I laid down before the hut, and fell asleep. When I awoke both my watch and carabine were gone: severely hurt and terrified at this loss, I ran into the hut, but here I could obtain no tidings of either; at last one of my fellow-travellers took me into his hut, and delivered me my carabine and watch. He told me that he had taken them with him by way of precaution, lest I should be robbed of them during my sleep: he regaled me with milk and mutton. While I was eating this homely meal the chieftain entered the hut, dressed in his richest attire, bowed to me several times, and thanked me for the assistance I had given to his comrades, relating, at the same time, that the same Boschmen, a few days since, had robbed the hamlet of thirty sheep. I enquired into the strength of the horde, and their place of residence, and learned that they were about thirty in number, and inhabited the *Schlangenberg* (Snake-mountain) about a league distant, where they had secured themselves against attack by an abattis, and by heaps of stones. I told the chief that it was not impossible to subdue them,

them, and that I would lead his people on to the attack, if they would assist me. Although the chieftain was much pleased with my plan, especially as it afforded an opportunity of recovering the stolen sheep, yet he made several objections, which being refuted by me, he warmly embraced my design, encouraged his comrades to take a share in its execution, and observed to them that unless the Boschmen were dislodged from the neighbourhood, they might commit many more robberies. Out of the eighty male inhabitants of the village, about twenty offered to join in the expedition against the Boschmen under my command. I delivered the necessary instructions, and gave orders that every one should provide themselves with a good cudgel, a bundle of dry grass, and some small dry wood. They did so; at the fall of night we put ourselves in motion, and advanced without the least noise towards the mountain. Here I divided our corps into two troops; one division I commanded myself, and the other I put under the orders of the chieftain. We now advanced against the first entrenchment, which was set on fire, and the wind spreading the flames, the whole mountain was soon in a blaze. We then took post again at the foot of the mountain, on the spot where we thought the enemy would fall forth: we had scarcely

scarcely occupied our post, when we heard dreadful howls, and discovered several Boschmen, half burnt by the fire; to terrify them still more, and to give the Hottentots the signal agreed on, I fired upon the fugitives, who were now attacked and slain by the Hottentots. Thus was this band of robbers entirely destroyed, and my friends not only recovered their own sheep, but took many others belonging to the enemy, which were found on the other side of the mountain. The number of Boschmen killed could not be ascertained, but the mountain continued to burn the whole of the following day.

On our return to the village we were received with shouts of acclamations, and the joy of the inhabitants increased when they saw the return of their sheep, and learned that their enemies were either slain or dispersed. I was fatigued and retired to rest in the hut of the chieftain, but the Hottentots passed the whole night in merriment and joy. I continued about a fortnight with these good people, by whom I was loved and respected, and who vied with each other to supply me with milk and meat, and to procure me all the comforts which they had the power of bestowing. But as the present season was the best for travelling, I resolved

solved to pursue my journey, and to avail myself, for that purpose, of the winter, as it is called, which begins in April, and is merely distinguished by some cool and rainy weather.

CHAP. III.

After taking some Repose in a Hottentot Village, the Author bends his Course to the Eastward, to the Fish-river, and to take Advantage of the Winter Season, the most favourable for travelling, he pursues his Journey with increased Zeal, avoids the Hamlets of the Hottentots and Habitations of Planters, and quits the Territory of the Company—Manners and Customs of the Hottentots—Le Vaillant is refuted by the Author, who visits M. Habrath, a Planter, and at length enters Caffraria on the 29th of March—Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies of the Caffres—The Author in the Hope of meeting with Europeans undertakes a Journey in Company with twenty-seven Caffrees to the Sea Coast, to search a French Vessel which was shipwrecked, obtains some Booty, and gains by his successful Enterprize the Love and Esteem of the whole Tribe, by whom he is elected Deputy, or Under-mampa, and entreated to remain with them for Life.

I LEFT the Hottentot village on the 25th of March, and pursued my route to the eastward, to the Fish-river, but was obliged to proceed with considerable

considerable caution lest I should find myself among the habitations of planters, which are rather numerous in this part of the country. I passed by one hamlet and spent the night in another, where I was well received and entertained. This was the extremity of the Company's territory, and although the boundaries of Caffraria are upwards of a day's journey distant, yet other villages are to be found on the road thither. The above hamlet is situated on the Fish-river, where it branches out into two arms, one of which flows between the mountains and the plantations of the colony, and the other empties itself to the southward in the above-mentioned Silver-river.

M. Vaillant has given us a description of the manners and customs of the Hottentots ; but as it is not altogether true and faithful, I shall add a few observations on the same subject.

The chief or chieftain of a horde is called Montur. This is not an hereditary dignity ; a Hottentot, who has distinguished himself by some heroic exploit, for instance, by the destruction of a ferocious beast, or a victory over his enemies, is generally elected to that office. Each kraal, whether situated within or without the possession of the Company, receives from them a large stick with a large

large silver knob, on which the Company's arms are engraven, and which remains constantly in the possession of the chieftain, who makes use of it on solemn occasions. Every Hottentot receives also yearly two pounds of tobacco and two gallons of brandy, in return for which he is obliged to acquire some knowledge of the Dutch tongue. They who reside among the planters learn it easily; but the rest, who inhabit distant parts of the country must endeavour to learn it by other means; for instance, when the Monturs go to Cape-town they are obliged to take with them each a man, who is employed at the Castle to cut wood or do other work, on which occasion he learns the language in his intercourse with the inhabitants and soldiers. When the Montur comes again the following year, he brings with him another man and the former returns to his kraal.* Their filthiness

* To pronounce the language of the Hottentots, as it is pronounced by the natives, is extremely difficult to foreigners, nor can the sound and true pronunciation of the words be expressed or represented in writing. It must be heard to be imitated with any degree of correctness. M. Vaillant observes very justly, that the Hottentot language may be learned, but he should have added, that the difficulty of pronouncing the consonants correctly cannot be surmounted by a foreigner, who, by his pronunciation, will always be easily distinguished from a native.

is almost incredible, for they are extremely lazy, nay, are perhaps the laziest people in the known world; in addition to which, in many parts of the country they are in great want of water. The most fruitful soil remains without culture, and it is only here and there the traveller meets with some Indian corn. The rearing of cattle and hunting form their chief employment, and indeed they only resort to the latter, when compelled by necessity or want the means of subsistence. They occupy themselves very little with the fishery, although they might catch plenty of fish, especially during the winter. Several instances are known of the Hottentots preferring several days hunger to the trouble of procuring provisions. A variety of offers have been made them on the part of the Company, such as nets, corn, and habitations, in the vicinity of the Cape, if they would become more industrious and active. But all these offers have been rejected, lest they should be forced to do more work than they chose to do. They prefer their indolent life in their deserts, amidst all manner of misery and filthiness, and are such cowards that they suffer themselves to be driven by the Caffres to the south, and again by the Boschmen to the east, whereas if they chose to act with spirit they might soon render themselves formidable to their enemies. The women occupy themselves chiefly

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with

with the management of the house, but are rather vain and fond of dress. A child is a great treasure for the mother; the husband has no right to trust his own child, 'as long as it sucks, although the wife is his slave. This privilege of the mother is owing to the savage cruelty of some fathers, who, at the time when the Portuguese were in the habit of visiting the country, sold their little children for some brandy or tobacco. - A child sucks four months, and is carried by the mother in daytime on her back, and in the night before her, wrapped up in a sheep-skin. After that time it is put on mats on the grass, and receives the same food as the rest of the family. The women apply themselves with much care to the breeding of cattle, but M. Vaillant's account "that in milking their cows, while one woman holds the animal's teat another blows with great violence into her vagina," is void of foundation. I have paid particular attention to their way of milking, and never observed any such thing; nor can I agree to his assertion, "that if a calf happens to die, the Hottentots preserve the skin very carefully, and wrap it round the body of another calf," for they are too cautious in this respect, as is evident from their general custom of interring all kinds of dead cattle at some leagues distance from the kraal. Their manner of managing the dead has given me great satisfaction.

satisfaction. They bury none without having previously made repeated attempts to recall him to life. Such as die of chronical diseases are beaten and shaken, and if there appear no signs of life they are buried the same day, after another trial has been made to restore them to life; but at the death of a young person, especially when the deceased died suddenly, many other experiments are made. The soles of the feet are ripped open with a hassagay,* a red hot iron is held under the nose, and the whole body is rubbed. If no vestiges of life can be discovered, the deceased is interred on the following evening. Dead persons are immediately removed out of the hut and watched by some of the family, and this is continued twenty-eight days after their interment, to prevent wild beasts from scratching the dead body out of the ground. As to the ceremonies and several peculiar customs of the Hottentots, M. Vaillant's travels may be consulted. I have here described such customs only as have not been correctly delineated by that writer.

On the 25th I continued my journey along the banks of the Fish-river. On my setting out I ob-

* The points of the hassagays are only poisoned when they march against enemies.

served several kraals on my right and left, which are very numerous in this part of the country, on account of the rich pastures and good water; but these were the last I could discover. I passed the night in a bush near the river, made a meal of the mutton which I had taken with me, and kindled a fire. The next morning I reached the neighbourhood of Mr. Habrath's plantation; I endeavoured to pass unnoticed, but was discovered by Mr. Habrath himself, who was engaged in a hunting excursion. He treated me with apparent civility, and invited me to his house; this invitation I endeavoured to decline, because I thought it rather unsafe to accept it. But Mr. Habrath observing my embarrassment, told me that he perceived I was a deserter, but that he should not stop me. I replied, that if he did, he should at least not take me back to the Cape alive. He thereupon requested that I would stay with him for some length of time, and provisionally accept the place of a master, whom he was in want of. I promised to comply with his wish, but asked leave, before I settled with him, to make a journey into Caffraria, to which he agreed. I set out accordingly, and reached Bruynhoogte (Bruyn's-height), which is also called Brunynejies Hoogte, where I found a horde of Hottentots. To the southward I saw the last plantation, close to the borders of Caffraria: here I found a delightful country,

country, and a fine plain, which is twelve miles in length, and five in breadth, and stretches along the Caffrarian mountains. On the 29th I entered Caffraria, where I encountered many difficulties and dangers: I had to ascend steep mountains, and it was with considerable trouble that I reached the valley before the fall of night. I found several old empty huts, one of which I chose for my night quarters: the inhabitants had probably quitted them on account of the want of water. At break of day I was awakened by the howling of a small herd of wolves, which approached my hut, but soon retired. I now pursued my route to north-east, and passed a small mountain, covered with high reed-grass, which greatly obstructed my progress. Shortly after I waded through a river six feet broad and four feet deep, which flowed from east to west, and whose water was of a reddish cast and sourish taste. On the 1st of April I travelled on a good and easy road, and traversed a fine and fruitful valley between two ridges of mountains. At noon I discovered to the southward some huts, built on the heights; I made towards them, and reached them in the evening. Near them I met three armed Caffres, who accosted me, and, as far as I could interpret their words and gestures, addressed to me the following queries: Whither are you going? Whence are you coming? Are you a

planter? I answered, that I came from the Cape, and was a deserter. I was now permitted to enter the kraal, which I did, but at the same time insinuated to them with words and gestures, that they should not take my firelock from me. The kraal consisted of twenty-two huts, and seemed to contain a considerable number of inhabitants in proportion to its size. On my arrival they were standing before their huts, and stared at me; some of them, however, ventured to draw near, and seemed to ask my attendants who I was, and what was my business in their kraal. The mampa, that is, the chieftain, a young man, viewed me from head to foot, and asked whether I chose to drink some milk? I feigned not to understand him, but he took me by the hand, conducted me into his hut, where a mat was spread on the ground, and made a signal that I should sit down. He was then going to take my firelock from me, and put it in a corner, but I would not permit him; I showed him that it was loaded, extracted the ball, and laid the firelock in a corner near me. I wondered at my host's showing so much indifference on this occasion, which I ascribed to his being unacquainted with that kind of weapon, but was on the next day convinced of my error. His wife brought me some milk in a very fine basket, and some roasted Indian corn: when I had finished my
supper

supper I lay down on the mat; they gave me a buffalo's hide for a covering, and my knapsack served instead of a pillow; thus I slept quietly and securely in the midst of these rude sons of nature, who have been decried as cruel and savage barbarians. It was eight o'clock on the following morning before I awoke: I found no one in the hut but myself, and on turning my eyes towards my baggage, I missed my gun and my powder and ball. Supposing that they had perhaps been removed to some other part of the hut, I searched for them but in vain. I resolved to go out in quest of my host: just as I was passing through the opening of the hut, I met the mampa coming towards me with the gun in his hand. He began to laugh aloud, and made various motions with the gun, like one who well knew how to use it. It gave me great pleasure to see my gun again; and the powder and balls were likewise restored to me. In the mean while some warm milk and broiled mutton was brought me for breakfast: I ate heartily, while my hospitable host endeavoured to enter into conversation with me. Although I did not understand him, yet I conjectured that he was speaking about shooting, as he often put himself in the posture of a person in the act of firing a gun. At length two of his friends, who dwelt in the

same hut with him, brought an umripat,* in which I immediately observed the wound caused by the ball with which it had been shot;† and this circumstance explained to me what had been the purport of the mampa's previous conversation. They skinned it and cut it in pieces; some of which they immediately broiled on the coals. After dinner I expressed a wish to pursue my journey, but was requested to prolong my stay, and to accompany them to the chase. Four other Caffres joined us, one of whom understood a little Dutch, which he had learned at the Cape; he desired me to shoot at a gems-buck; I replied, that we should probably meet with some more valuable game; but if the mampa wished to make a trial with my gun, it was at his service. He accepted my offer with pleasure, and shot, out of a herd of twenty, an old and a young buck; at which success he greatly rejoiced. I asked where he had learned to use fire-arms, as I had not seen any in the kraal.

* A kind of antelope, having a spotted skin like a tyger.

† My carabine carried a ball weighing two ounces, and most of those used at the Cape are of the same width of bore, therefore they kill the wild beasts with the greater certainty. These, as well as those carrying a ball of three or four ounces, are imported from England.

The Caffre now related to me, that they had once purchased some fire-arms, in exchange for sheep, from their neighbours, the Tambukinians: but hostilities having subsisted between them and their neighbours for a considerable time past, no more powder and lead could be obtained; they had, therefore, with much trouble, converted the muskets into javelins. When we returned to the kraal, the mampa, with myself and some others, went round in procession to invite the horde to a festival, which was to be celebrated the next day, in commemoration of a victory that had been gained over their enemies three years before. This evening all was very still and quiet in the kraal; but early in the following morning, I heard people talking and walking about, when no one in our hut, except myself, was yet awake. I arose, and tried to open the door, but in vain, it was fastened in a singular manner. In the kraals of the Caffres the doors are not secured by locks made of iron, but by several pieces of wood, ingeniously contrived to answer that purpose. Soon after they knocked at our hut and at others where the inhabitants were yet asleep, and began to sing. All now started from their couches, and upon quitting the hut, we found that the ground in front of it, and the hut itself, were covered with palm-branches. The people now pressed around the mampa, and decorated

decorated him with two branches of palm, which they stuck under the belt with which he had incircled his hair, so that it seemed as if he wore a pair of stag's horns on his head. Two similar branches were put into his hands; and the procession then began to move. They paraded three times round every hut of the kraal, which ceremony lasted two hours: a large fire was then kindled in the middle of the kraal, around which most of them seated themselves, and began to sing. As yet the women had taken no part in the celebration of the festival; but as soon as the men had taken their seats, they too made their appearance. Each of them bore in their hands two palm-branches, which were presented, with various ceremonies, by the married women to their husbands, and by the maidens to the single young men. All then joined in a dance around the fire, into which they at last threw the palm-branches. The women then repaired to their huts and brought milk, which was drank by the men, who had again seated themselves. Two young men and two maidens were now conducted within the ring, to be joined in wedlock, which ceremony was performed in the following manner: the mothers, leading their daughters with one hand, and bearing in the other hand two baskets with milk, approached the fire; when about six paces distant from

from it, they halted, and then the fathers of the two young women stepped forth, took off their daughters' small aprons, and conducted them quite naked to their future husbands.* These received their brides, and were informed what dower they were to have with them. The dower consisted of a few sheep and buffaloes, with some other articles. During the treaty about the dower, the mother approached somewhat nearer, and presented to each of the new-married folks, a small basket with milk, whereupon the nearest relatives likewise approached to conclude and settle the bargain about the dower. As soon as they had come to an agreement on that point to the satisfaction of all parties, milk was handed round the ring, and each father delivered up his daughter's apron to his son-in-law, who again bound it round his bride, with many ceremonies, which signified that no other person had a right to tie or untie it in future. Several sheep were immediately killed, the flesh of which was broiled and distributed to all present, who continued to divert themselves with singing and dancing till late at night, when they retired, the two young brides returning to the habitations of their

* The father performs this ceremony for the purpose of proving the chastity of his daughter, and to shew to the bridegroom that she never had connexion with any man.

fathers.

fathers. On the following day, a hut is built for the young couple by their nearest relatives, which is covered with hides, till proper mats can be prepared: the bridegroom and bride, accompanied by their friends, then go and take possession thereof, and of their dower. The oldest person of each family punishes and decides slight offences and disputes. But on capital crimes the whole horde passes sentence.

Though the mampa treated me as a friend, yet I was not invited to join the company, but remained quietly sitting before the hut, whence I could distinctly observe every thing that passed. The young man who understood a little Dutch, brought me some milk and flesh, and told me, that, being a stranger, I could not be admitted to take part in this feast. In the evening I lay down behind the hut, and, after having spent some hours in pondering on my future fate, I fell into a profound sleep. At break of day I awoke, and found that my host had covered me with a buffalo-hide, I arose, and resolved to recommence my journey: but the door of the hut was fastened, and my carabine and baggage I could not leave behind me. The sun had risen to a considerable height before the hut was opened; and then the mampa's wife came forth to go to milk her cows. I requested
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of her by signs to bring out my baggage; but she gave me to understand that she durst not do so without the knowledge of her husband, who was yet asleep. She invited me to accompany her, which I did without reflecting on the danger I might thereby incur, as the men are excessively jealous. She called to the women in the neighbouring huts, who came out and followed her. The herd was feeding on a beautiful plain at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the kraal: it was very numerous, and looked better than several others which I had already seen. Two persons are generally employed in milking one cow; one holding the animal, whilst the other milks her with great dexterity and expedition: two housewives, therefore, generally go as partners, mutually to assist one another in this employment. The cows of this country give very little milk. I observed that my hosts obtained scarcely five quarts from six cows, and yet this was the season of the year when they generally yield the greatest quantity. Perhaps the excessive heat may have, in this respect, an unfavourable influence. The herdsmen likewise often defraud the proprietors, by clandestinely milking the cows. The Caffres are accustomed to twist the horns of their cattle into many different forms, and to engrave various figures upon them. This they do from motives

motives of prudence. Their herds are sometimes disturbed and dispersed by wolves and tygers; and if on such occasions any of the cattle stray into other herds, the herdsmen are able from these figures to distinguish to what kraal they belong. Sometimes they split the horns, and turn each part in an opposite direction, every one endeavouring also to add some private marks different from those of the other inhabitants.

The mampa had, during my absence, been looking for me through the whole kraal; and when he saw me returning with the women, he expressed great joy, came to meet me, and asked me, by means of signs, where I had been. When I had informed him, he laughed, took me by the hand, and conducted me to the hut, where his wife handed round some warm milk to drink, and he himself brought me a piece of flesh, pressing me to eat heartily. Here I must remark that the Caffres are very temperate in eating and drinking, for I could frequently have taken more than my portion of meat and milk.

When I had breakfasted, I signified to my hospitable host that I wished to pursue my journey, and put two florins into his hand. He looked at them for some time, but at length gave me them back again,

again, and taking my baggage from me, requested me to remain with them that day at least. Having delivered my baggage to his wife, he took me by the hand, and pulled me after him, for at first I made some resistance; thus he conducted me to a thicket, where we found several men busily employed in breaking branches from the bushes, and cutting down some of the larger trees. They invited me to join them; and accordingly I collected a bundle of boughs, and taking it upon my shoulders, followed the others, who had laden themselves with the branches and the larger stems for building. With these materials, in less than two hours, two huts were constructed for the young folks who had been married on the preceding day. After this work was finished, they indulged freely in mirth, danced and sung, and formed a ring round each of the huts. *Oghang*, (plums) *batoni*, (a kind of millet) and *melis*, (Indian corn) were distributed as a refreshment to the company, and some of the same articles were hung upon the huts, as a wedding-gift to the newly-married folks. Not to be behind in liberality, I suspended a guilder to each of the huts, and perceived that the brides and bridegrooms were very much pleased with this present. I became very cheerful, and only lamented, that I did not understand their language. I danced with one of the
young

young women, and sung some German songs, to which the company listened with great attention. When I rose to dance, I by mistake singled out a young married woman for my partner, but was immediately reprov'd by her husband, and should probably have received some ill usage from him, if the mampa had not interpos'd, and told him that I was unacquainted with the customs of the country. They then brought me a young maiden, without an apron, with whom I was at liberty to dance and skip about as much as I pleas'd.

On the following morning, being firmly resolv'd to take my leave of the mampa, I presented two florins to him, which he refus'd to accept; but finding that I persist'd, he at length took them and gave them to his wife; however, when I likewise made her a present of two florins, he took his own again, and heartily thank'd me. Having given me some roast'd meat to take with me, and convey'd me to the extremity of his territory (about half a German mile) where we cordially took leave of each other. I now directed my course towards the Eureka. The kraals which I had left consist'd of twenty-two huts, containing about three hundred inhabitants. It was situated on the right of the Fish-river between a chain of mountains, which is said to be eight days journey in length, and is intersected

intersected more than once by the above-mentioned river, which here and there branches out into several distinct streams; but these afterwards join again.* Towards evening I crossed this river, its depth being at that time no more than three feet; and halted for the night at a small thicket, on an eminence near the opposite bank, where I kindled a fire, and having gathered some muscles I roasted them for my supper. In the night I perceived a large fire on the mountains before me; from which circumstance I conjectured that there must be a kraal in the neighbourhood, and that the herdsmen belonging to it had kindled the fire for the purpose of security of their cattle against the attacks of wolves and tygers. This gave me great pleasure. Having fallen asleep I did not

* M. Vaillant's description of the course of this river is inaccurate. It takes its rise in the Hahoromto Mountains, lying opposite to the Snowy Mountains, and thence flows with many windings as far as the mountain Jacata, the highest within a compass of three hundred miles; whence it runs in a straight direction to the sea. M. Vaillant pretends to have made an excursion out of his way, for the purpose of visiting the Fish-river: but this is not probable; for in that case he must not only have travelled six or eight days before he could reach it, but he must likewise have crossed a large chain of mountains, in the vallies of which there are immense morasses. It was not the Fish-river, therefore, that he saw, but the Sangue-river.

awake till eight o'clock on the following morning, when I immediately set forward, and at noon safely arrived at the place where I had seen the fire burning the preceding night. Here I met two young Caffres: who at first ran away, nor would they stop till I had called out to them: *taba bara*, i. e. "I am a friend." I endeavoured to learn from them where the habitations of their horde were situated: and they signified to me that the kraal lay at no great distance, immediately behind the mountain. The younger of them accompanied me thither as a guide; and when we arrived, he exclaimed, *O ma bara tuko, O ma bara tuko!* i. e. "A white friend, a white friend!" on which more than fifty persons of both sexes came running out of their huts towards me. An old man, who yet remained at some distance, held out his hand towards me, and said *Hogafamaytuko?* i. e. "Whence comest thou, friend?" I answered, *Bikagari Knatuore:* i. e. "I am a Dutch deserter." My young guide was now ordered to conduct me to the hut of the old man, where they spread out a mat for me to sit down on. Old and young crowded round me, stared at me, laughed, and at last began to tease me; one pushing me with his finger, another pulling me by the hair, and a third by the coat. This gave me some uneasiness, and I was at a loss as to what I should do to get rid

rid of them ; at length I shewed them my carabine, but to no purpose. The old man, however, observing that this treatment was disagreeable to me, endeavoured to make me comprehend, that they had no intention to insult or offend me, and that it was merely from curiosity that they handled me so, as they had never before seen a white man. My fears now vanished ; and when they again began to pull me by the hair I quickly seized one of the young girls by the arm and kissed her ; whereupon all the by-standers burst into a loud laugh. Several of them exclaimed, *Naghaip-ti, naghaip-ti !* i. e. " That is pretty, that is pretty ! " As for the girl, she lay quietly in my arms, and seemed very well pleased. When the old man brought me some melis and milk, this girl ran and fetched me a vessel full of excellent goat's milk. She had told her mother that I had kissed her, which brought the old woman herself to the hut where I was, and I concluded, from the satisfaction apparent in her countenance, that she was pleased with me ; she even offered me a hut, and expressed to me by signs her wish, that I would remain there ; and this seemed likewise to be the wish of the old man. That I might not seem to reject their kind offer with disdain, I answered, that I should first make a journey through the country, and then return, if their countrymen did not kill

me. This proposal was approved of; they advised me, however, to avoid the roving hordes of Tambukinians, who, for the sake of a trifling booty, would not scruple to rob and murder even the natives of the country. It may not be improper to remark here, that in the sequel I experienced quite the contrary, and found other tribes more rapacious than the Tambukinians. I was very careful not to produce any of my money here, lest I should excite their cupidity, and thus expose myself to the danger of being robbed. My heart became even more and more oppressed with anxiety, when I reflected that I was now wandering about among savage tribes, in continual danger of being murdered, and that greater danger and hardships yet awaited me than those to which I had hitherto been exposed. I was ignorant of the roads, understood but very few words of the language, and was unacquainted with the qualities of hardly any of the roots and herbs growing in the country. My cloaths were already in rags, and others could not be obtained. My small stock of gun-powder could not last much longer; and when it was expended how should I be able to defend myself from the attacks of hostile men and ferocious animals! After pondering for some time on these impending evils, I could scarcely relish any food, and my body became weak and emaciated.

ated. Convinced however that, unless I chose to remain among the Caffres, I must pursue my journey; I submitted with resignation to the will of Providence, and the agitation of my mind subsided.

Before I departed on the following morning, the old man told me that, about *lago oiup* (i. e. according to their mode of reckoning, sixteen full-moons) before, he had seen in the *Koro Khaia* (Salt-mountains) some persons who resembled me in colour, and wore similar cloaths and hats. I enquired in what direction these mountains lay, and he pointed towards the east, where I saw a small chain of mountains before me. The old man was likewise of opinion, that the sea, whence the white strangers had come, was only about five days journey distant from these mountains. On hearing this intelligence, my despondency immediately gave way to joy; for I confidently hoped to meet with some Europeans, in company with whom I might continue my journey. It may be necessary here to inform my readers, that whenever I speak of having conversed with the Caffres, it is to be understood in a limited sense; we only endeavoured mutually to communicate our ideas sometimes by single words, but still more generally by signs and gestures. To reach that part of the country to

which the old Caffre had pointed, I was under the necessity of going back half a day's journey, for the purpose of crossing the Fish-river: and I halted again at the same place where I had slept two nights before. In the morning I pursued my journey in an oblique direction across the chain of mountains; but had innumerable obstacles and difficulties to overcome—Exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, I was obliged to climb from rock to rock, in continual danger of tumbling down headlong, and miserably perishing in the abysses below. If I came to a place where the trees might afford me some shelter, I was under the necessity of forcing my way through the high reed-grass; and I was continually disappointed in my search for fresh water. Among the reed-grass indeed I sometimes met with small pools, but the water emitted a horrid stench and swarmed with insects. I therefore once shot a gems-buck, and refreshed myself with his blood. I likewise took one of the haunches with me, but was obliged to throw it away, as the scent of it attracted the wolves and tygers.

At length on the third day, I descended from this ridge of mountains, and entered a fruitful plain, where however I could not find any water. Of the many different kinds of trees that grew here,

here, one of them resembled an oak, and produced a yellow fruit similar to some of our plums. I eagerly devoured five or six of them, the taste of which was at first agreeable, but at length so exceedingly acerb, as to make my mouth bleed. I took, however, a few of them in my pocket, to be used in cases of extreme necessity; and having roasted them on the coals, in the evening, I found that they then tasted much better. In the interior of the country I afterwards met with many such trees, but was more cautious in eating their fruit; which by some is called *ohagma*, and by others, beyond Caffraria, *ogheyhe*—Being now quite exhausted with thirst and fatigue, I began to look around for some wholesome water, and whilst thus employed, I espied a large kraal: this gave me inexpressible joy, as I was sure to find water in its neighbourhood. Accordingly I soon came to a spring, and immediately lay down to quench my thirst. Certain I am, that this water was more delicious to my palate than is the most costly wines, to that of the pampered epicure. I did not intend to enter the kraal, partly because I was afraid of being ill-treated there, and partly because I wished to proceed with all possible expedition towards the place where the old Caffre had seen the Europeans; but just as I was setting out, several young women came to the well to fetch water. The

moment they saw me, they threw down their pitchers, screamed, and fled to the kraal. Having filled my calabash, I followed them, and when within a few yards of the nearest huts, I met about twenty Caffres armed with clubs advancing towards me: one of these demanded, to what nation I belonged? upon which I pointed towards the west. The man then seized my carabine, which I surrendered to him without resistance; acquainting him, however, by means of signs, that it was loaded. He cautiously laid hold of it with both hands, pointing the muzzle upwards; and giving me a wink to follow him, he conducted me to a grass-plot in the centre of the kraal, where I sat down, and soon saw myself surrounded by several hundred persons. In the mean time my conductor had walked off with my carabine: I rose up, looked round, and not seeing him, begged of the bystanders, by means of signs, to inform me whither he was gone. They shewed me his hut, and endeavoured to quiet my apprehensions; whereupon I reposed myself, and having requested some food, one of them immediately brought me a cake *

* This cake is made of a kind of millet called Myluova. It is pounded in the excavated trunk of a tree, and then boiled with milk and water; the paste thus prepared is laid in the sun to dry, and afterwards baked on the coals.

which

which was full of coals and ashes, and of an unpleasant taste, but which my appetite being keen, I ate greedily. Two Caffres now approached me; and some of the by-standers intimating, by means of a significant wink, that one of them was the person who had carried away my gun, I looked earnestly at him, which he perceiving, behaved in a friendly manner towards me, and made me some expressive signs, from which I might conclude, that he had only put my carabine in a place of safety, without intention to keep it. His companion, a man more advanced in years, but tall and robust, was still more kind and considerate. He advised the by-standers to give me something to drink, and not to suffer me to sit so exposed to the rays of the sun. At length he signified to me by a motion of his club, to follow him; and he conducted me to a bench in the shade, behind his hut, where I sat down, and partook of some milk, which was presented to me by a young woman, in a vessel made of an excavated piece of wood. When I had rested and refreshed myself, I signified, that I wished to proceed on my journey: whereupon my hospitable host sent the young woman to fetch my gun, with which she returned without delay; at the same time a man made his appearance, who understood something of the Dutch language, and he asked me, whence I came, and whither I

was

was going, &c. I told him, that I had come from the Cape, and was going to that part of the globe, from whence ships failed*. My landlord set up a loud laugh on hearing the purpose of my journey, and bid the interpreter to inform me, that I could not traverse the possessions of the other nations, without exposing my life to the most imminent danger; and that, therefore, it would be most prudent to remain where I was sure to find assistance and support. The interpreter told me further, that a short time before, a vessel had been wrecked near the coast, many people belonging to which, had taken refuge in this district, but, on proceeding further, had been robbed and murdered by the neighbouring nations. My landlord fetched two swords, a new pistol, and some gold coins out of his hut, which he had received from these people*. The French arms were engraved on every

* The sea being at no very considerable distance, they were not unacquainted with ships.

† Most of these people displayed their riches in a manner so inconsiderate and ill-judged, that their assassination was entirely owing to this circumstance. A short time before my departure from the Cape, two seamen were apprehended by the planters, and imprisoned; they belonged to the same ship, but could not point out the place where she was wrecked. By their account an insurrection had had taken place on board the ship, in which

every one of these articles, and I regretted most sincerely, that I had not met with their former owners. In order to ascertain the point, whether the neighbouring districts were actually as barbarous as they had been described, I determined to stay here a few days longer, in order to collect authentic information on that head. Being treated with much kindness and respect, and frequently invited to stay as long as I pleased, I continued here four weeks, before I set out on my further journey. I had many opportunities of observing the manners and customs of this horde, but shall confine myself to such particulars as have not been correctly

which all the officers had lost their lives; that thereupon the insurgents had run the ship on shore, supplied themselves with money and other valuable articles, and proceeded into the interior of the country; that for two months together the whole troop had wandered from place to place, and had afterwards been attended by a great number of Africans, who had robbed and killed many of them, so that of the whole four men only had made their escape. Two of these afterwards died of their wounds, and they being the only two survivors, had journied on in search of the Cape. They pretended to have taken no share in the insurrection, and for this reason to have been several times in danger of being murdered by their ferocious comrades. The French Consul caused them to be conveyed to the island where prisoners are confined, and sent them afterwards where they were probably condemned to imprisonment for life, or suffered death.

correctly delineated by M. Vaillant. This gentleman pretends to have seen, that the women in Caffraria fabricate earthen ware; an assertion, which I must flatly contradict. In a tract of country, of from fifteen to eighteen hundred miles in extent, earthen-ware is an article utterly unknown. It is manufactured at the Cape, and on the coast of Congo, but in the intermediate space, no such manufactory is to be found. Baskets made of twigs and rushes, excavated trunks of trees, and shells of gourds supply the place of earthen ware. Vaillant frequently attributes to the tribes which he pretends to have visited, things which they are entirely ignorant of, and on the other hand takes to himself the merit of having instructed them in matters, with which they have been acquainted for ages. Thus he states with a deal of complacency the wonderful impressions which a pair of bellows of his construction made upon the Caffres; but the truth is, that they actually made use of that "more essential instrument in metallurgy," at the time, when the governor Van Stiel formed the settlement, which from him and a neighbouring wood took the appellation of Stielen's bosch*. As early as that period they knew how to make ham-

* La Vaillant calls this settlement Stellembosch.

mers, tongs, chains, and the like articles; travelled by caravans to the Cape, and exchanged their manufactures for unwrought iron, kettles, brandy, and bugles. In proportion as the Dutch planters encreased in number, and extended their plantations, the Caffres were necessitated to remove to a greater distance from the Fish-river, which formed the boundary of their country; and being persecuted by the planters as well as the Hottentots, they relinquished not only trade and commerce, but also most of their manufactories. Mr. Dulbach of Batavia being afterwards appointed Governor of the Cape, he concluded with the Caffres an armistice for twenty years, on condition that they should send every year twelve young men to the Cape, who were not to be treated as slaves, but as servants of the Company, and at the end of the year to be relieved by twelve others. The young men acquired at the Cape, not only a knowledge of the Dutch idiom, but they also learned to make a variety of useful instruments and tools. It will hardly be supposed, that they should not have seen bellows at the Cape, or would not introduce them in their native country! The usual mode of forging iron has also been long known in Caffraria.

In the year 1739, a Portugeze ship being
wrecked

wrecked on the coast, forty-three of the crew who were saved, resided among the Caffres until 1743, gave them the iron and several articles, which were on board the ship, and instructed them in the art of forging Spanish spears, several of which are still preserved at the Cape. Yet these spears from their inconvenience, were soon converted by the Caffres into javelins. Most of the hordes which I have visited, possessed forges provided with every necessary implement, such as a stone anvil, hammers broad on one side, and on the other formed like a chisel, tongs and other similar instruments. In lieu of files, certain stones are used, which answer nearly the same purpose. The huts of the Caffres resemble those of the Hottentots, and are also covered with mats. M. Vaillant's assertion, "That the Caffres do not inter their dead, but that they are transported from the kraal by the family, and deposited in a ditch, whither savage animals go, to feed at their leisure," I must also contradict. They bury their dead in separate graves, and take care that wild beasts do not scratch them out of the ground. Vaillant's description of the arms, and dress of this nation is perfectly correct, but he is mistaken when he says, "That the Caffres have a king;" they have no such chief, and his further assertion, "That the sovereign power is hereditary in the king's family,"

mily," is of course equally erroneous. At the Cape, it is true, they are used to say of any dirty, filthy fellow, "That he may be the king of Caffraria;" but this does not prove the real existence of such a king.

About seventy years back, several kraals were governed by one common chief, who might perhaps have been stiled king. The last of these potentates was called Phraao, and killed by the planters in the course of an incursion into Caffraria. At the time of Vaillant's travels there existed but few Caffres, acquainted even with the name of Phraao, and not one was living, who had known that King, a portrait of whom I saw at Colonel Gordon's, at the Cape. Every horde has a chief; this dignity, however, is not held by right of inheritance, but the most worthy and most valiant is elected to that station. I am also perfectly satisfied, that circumcision is not in use among the Caffres. So much for the correctness of Vaillant's remarks; I shall hereafter add some further observations on the manners, customs, and institutions of that nation. The horde with whom I so long continued, contained fourteen thousand souls, and three hundred and nineteen combatants, who inhabited one hundred and twenty-seven huts. By way of amusement I used to carry wood into the huts,

huts, for which I received milk from the women. The men busy themselves but very little with household affairs, procure no wood, do not attend the cattle, nor take much notice of their children; all this is left to the wife, who, in case of sickness, requests another woman of her family to supply her place. If the wife dies, her relation must take care of every thing, until the widower has chosen another wife, in return for which she inherits the cattle which was the property of the deceased. If there are children, the husband keeps the boys, and the relations bring up the girls. During my residence in this kraal, I learnt the place where the shipwrecked Frenchmen met with their fate, and was informed that their ship was lying at the distance of two days journey from this village. I resolved to visit the ship, mentioned this idea in the course of conversation with the Caffre who conversed with me most frequently, and requested him to accompany me thither. He did not reject this proposal, but observed, that if the ship was lying off the eastern coast, it would be extremely difficult to carry my project into execution, without being attacked, nay, murdered by the wandering *Muborians*, and that even supposing the ship should lie in a convenient place, yet we could make no use of her, and should of course reap but little benefit from our enterprize.

Still

Still I did not desist from my design, and endeavoured to render it more palatable to the Caffre, by telling him, that we could at least break off the iron, which he might keep himself. He was much pleased with this offer, but endeavoured to prevail upon several of his friends to join us in the enterprize. He communicated his design to the mampa and other Caffres, who approved of it unanimously, and at last twenty-seven men declared themselves ready to attend us on our journey: they were armed with javelins, and I took with me my carabine, and some hammers and tongs, and other implements. On the 27th of April we put ourselves in motion, and proceeded over the chain of mountains towards the spot where it was said the ship lay. Taking but little rest, we reached in the evening the mountain towards the sea-side, kindled a fire and lay around it. In the night my companions discovered, at some distance, a fire at the foot of the mountain; from the tone in which they conversed on this discovery, I perceived that they were afraid of being attacked by robbers. I endeavoured to support their spirits, and started the idea that we might perhaps find people belonging to the ship. We set out at a very early hour, and took our route towards the fire: at a considerable distance from it my companions grew more lively, for they saw no robbers, but

Caffres before them. On our reaching the fire, we found that they had also been at the ship, and had brought away a considerable quantity of iron, glass-ware, small chests, pieces of copper, and other articles. They showed us the place where the ship was lying, and entreated us, on our journey home, to pass the night in their village. During the rest of our journey I could scarcely keep up with my companions, who were now full of spirit and courage. We crossed a river, and arrived in the evening at the wreck of the ship: she lay between the Fish-river and the river St. Lucie, in a bay formed by the sea behind the mountain. She was a brig, and her name, which I could discern on her stern, was St. Wernburg. We found several bodies in a state of putrefaction, and pierced through in several places, besides kettles, chests, and also cottons and silks, which the sea-water had rendered unfit for use. Iron being the most interesting object to my companions, they endeavoured to draw out of the timber as many nails, bolts, and cramp-irons as they were able. I kindled a fire, and prepared the supper, which consisted of the meat which we had brought with us. The supper being ready, I called my companions, and showed them that I had procured a tolerable quantity of iron without much trouble, by putting on the fire boards and beams which contained bolts and nails, and being consumed

consumed by flames, the iron lay in a mass on the ground. Having witnessed this operation, the Caffres ran to the ship, and fetched whole beams, two of which were generally fastened together with strong iron bars, and put them on the fire. The next morning the iron was picked up among the ashes, and by this means a large quantity of it collected. On searching the beach, we found in a cask, covered with sand by the waves, seventy fire-locks, but which unfortunately were all spoiled by rust. We put them in the fire to burn off the wood, and afterwards found, farther on the beach, some swords with the French arms engraved on them. At noon every thing was ready for our departure, but, as some of the Caffres pretended to be worn out with fatigue, it was resolved to take some repose till the next morning. Walking on the beach I perceived a human body, which, although in a state of putrefaction, retained the marks of two wounds, received in the breast, and was decorated with a badge of distinction, probably the cross of St. Louis. I manifested a desire to inter it; my companions approved of my proposal, fetched four other dead bodies, and they were all five deposited in a deep pit, dug out for that purpose, and covered with earth. The funeral being performed, my companions washed themselves

about twenty times with sea-water and ashes, and did not eat a morsel the whole day; whether from religious motives, or from a love of cleanliness, I could not learn. In the evening a large fire was again kindled; we lay down and fell asleep. Early in the morning every one took up his load, and we set out on our march, considering whether we should proceed toward the horde, who had invited us to pass the night with them, or strike into our former road; the majority inclining to the former opinion, we took that route, reached the horde in good time, and met with a very kind reception. We found there large stores of the remains of the ship's cargo and furniture, clothes, shoes, whole pieces of silks and cottons, several new fire-locks and swords, two large coppers, saucepans, pots, bottles, and a considerable sum of money. They presented us with some of these articles, especially with one of the large coppers, which, however, the four men, who carried it in the prosecution of our way, were almost necessitated to abandon, as it proved extremely troublesome to them on climbing up the mountains. We learned that the crew of the ship, after having remained here some time, set out for the kingdom of Monomotapa, to solicit the protection of the Portuguese government of that country. Among the presents which

of blood & good silver &c. I fell

fell to my share, I was happy to find a compass. On our drawing nigh our kraal the next day, we were met by women and children, who, on the view of our booty, received us with as lively shouts of joy as though we had returned from the conquest of a kingdom; in the kraal we experienced the same reception. The successful issue of this enterprise raised my character very high in the estimation of the horde; the women and children vied with each other in supplying me with good milk, and my friends readily shared with me whatever they had in their possession; they even appointed me their deputy, or under-mampa, as an inducement to me to settle in their kraal, with the additional offer of building, and furnishing a hut for my habitation. I declined their offer in a manner which seemed to satisfy them, promising to return, after having traversed the neighbouring country, to marry one of their girls, and to spend with them the remainder of my life. I found also other means of conciliating their friendship. A young fat buffalo, for instance, being killed in the hut where I resided, I carefully collected the blood, which they used to throw away, cleaned the guts, which they usually put under ground,* minced

* Left wild beasts should be attracted by the smell.

the meat, made black puddings, and boiled them in the copper which we had brought with us. They very much relished this novel kind of food, thanked me heartily for my having acquainted them with the mode of preparation, and resolved to adopt it.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's Departure from the friendly Caffres to pursue his Journey—Description of the Dangers and Troubles which he had to encounter—He is kindly received by another Horde of Caffres, and assists them against the Tamboukins—Boundaries of Caffraria and of other neighbouring Parts—The Author being robbed of his Effects in another Kraal of Caffres, he recovers them by the Interposition of the Chief, with the Exception of the Carabine, which had been broken in Pieces by a Caffre—Account of a Jamatian Kraal, and of their Customs and Manners.

ON the 20th of May I took my leave of this good-natured people. I was presented with roast meat, and calabashes full of milk, and reminded of my promise to return. Several Caffres accompanied me as far as the mountain, when I turned towards the north-east, constantly wandering on rocks, until I reached a creek, formed by the Fish-river, on whose banks I took some repose; and then pursued my journey, climbing at one time over mountains, and at others wandering through pleasant vales. The next day I reached
a de-

a delightful plain, covered with fine reed-grass, and interspersed with shrubs and trees, many of which bore the yellow plums I have already mentioned. At last I came to another kraal, where I passed the night: they gave me milk and a piece of meat, but secured my carabine.* On my setting out the next morning, I was accompanied by a great many children as far as a flat mountain, which lay in my road. This was rather a measure of precaution than a matter of curiosity, their fields lying that way; for on our passing by a piece of land, sown with Indian corn, a stalk of which I was going to pluck up, they cried out—*gonorum daro puffy kamd krujulsay* (don't touch it, else you will be shot by my father). On the mountain, called by the Caffres *Pfadob*, (Salt-hill), I found much salt-petre. The foot of the mountain was washed by a small river, which branched into two arms. The last mentioned horde most probably obtain their water at this place, which has a brackish taste. Whether this water is originally impregnated with salt, or attracts saline parts from the rocks over which it flows, I am not able to determine. I came next to a thick wood, which I intended to

* This was a measure of precaution, lest my carabine should be handled by unskilful or imprudent persons, and mischief ensue.

pass, but was not able to effect my purpose, though in attempting it I was detained half a day. Near this wood I saw a troop of about forty elephants. I was much alarmed, being obliged to traverse the place which they occupied, but escaped unhurt, and passed the night close by the wood. I kindled a large fire, but was nevertheless much harassed by wolves and lions, who approached very near me, but had not the courage to attack me. This wood was by my calculation from twenty-one to twenty-eight miles in length, and consisted of kakolay and monapacka-trees. The fruit of the kakolay-tree resembles our wild chefnuts, but the pulp is of a reddish colour, and of a sour taste. The fruit of the monopacka-tree is a species of apple, the kernels of which are of the size of a large vetch and sweet. I was now compelled to stay a considerable time by the fire, as it was very late before the wild beasts withdrew into the forest, and I did not think it prudent to pass through them. About noon a tremendous storm arose, which I considered as a joyful event in as much as it cooled the air. I was not able to travel more than six miles, the road frequently being obstructed by stagnant waters, which I was obliged to wade through or to go round. These were also infested by wild animals which sallied forth from the woods to quench their thirst. The following night I was compelled

compelled to be constantly on my guard, to keep off their attacks, as I could not venture into the forest to fetch the necessary fire-wood. I therefore passed this night without sleep, walked constantly to and fro, and ate some meat, which was not altogether untainted. At break of day I crossed the ridge of rocky mountains, which lay before me, and which run from west to east. I met with barren heights, unfruitful valleys, without shrub or trees, and covered with long-reed grass, scorched by the sun. Wild beasts abounded every where. I found large supplies of rain water in the clefts of the rocks. The following day I fired at a roebuck, but having wounded him but slightly he effected his escape. I intended to pass the night in a neighbouring kraal, but not being able to reach it I sat down on a hill, and considered whether I had better turn towards another quarter or pursue the same road. Unable to satisfy the cravings of my stomach I grew melancholy, but on a sudden was roused from my dejection by the sound of human voices.

I looked round, and saw a party of men advancing towards me, armed with clubs and javelins. Had I been less tormented with hunger, I should have endeavoured to escape from them; but now I was glad to see them approach me. At the distance of ten paces they all halted; and one of them called
out

out to me in the Caffrarian language: "What dost thou here?" I answered, that I was dying with hunger. "Hast thou no food then," asked a second. I replied that I had none. Who art thou?" cried a third. I am a native of the west, our ship has been wrecked on the coast. "Whither art thou going?" To my native country. Many other questions were put to me, and in particular I was asked whether I had come alone? I answered them as well as I could, by means of single words and signs, and then intreated them to give me some food. They ordered me to accompany them; but on my assuring them that I was so fatigued and weak as to be unable to follow them; a consultation was held, in which one of them said, that I must be compelled to go with them; another proposed to kill me with their javelins; but this was opposed by a third, who happened to be of a gentler and more compassionate disposition. This discourse terrified me exceedingly: at last one of them seized me by the arm, and gave me to understand, that I must go along with them. I willingly followed them into a thicket, where they halted and kindled a fire. One of them gave me a piece of raw meat, which I broiled on the coals: others of them let me drink out of their water-bottles. When I lay down to sleep, I placed my knapsack as a pillow, under my head; but they took

took it away from me, to examine its contents. In it they found powder, balls, a knife, a pair of scissars, and two shirts: the knife and scissars they kept, but the other articles were restored to me. I had luckily sewed my money into my waistcoat, and thus preserved it. I slept soundly, but was awaked very early in the morning, and ordered to follow them. They travelled in a north-east direction, and with so much speed, that I was constantly at some distance behind them; one of them therefore threatened me with his club, and towards evening another even struck me several times across the shoulders, and threatened to repeat this chastisement if I did not make more haste. I felt much pain from the blows; and the blood likewise began to run out of my shoes*; for we were obliged to climb over rocks, and to force a passage through bushes and high reed-grass. It was almost dark before we arrived at the kraal; where they took me to a hut and gave me some milk, and cakes made of Indian corn. I did not yet know, whether I was among Caffres or robbers: but suspected the latter, as I had never before been treated with such rigour by other hordes of Caffres. I now recollected that at several of

* My shoes consisted only of a piece of raw hide cut from a buffalo, and fitted to the foot whilst wet.

the kraals which I had visited, they had cautioned me to beware of falling into the hands of the Muthotians; and, believing that I was now a prisoner to these savages, I gave myself up for lost. Hence though much fatigued, I was unable to sleep all night; often starting at the slightest noise in the hut, and expecting every moment to be murdered. Towards the dawn of day, I entertained some thoughts of attempting to make my escape, as my guards were yet fast asleep, and I heard no human voice on the outside of the hut; but, on maturer consideration, I resolved to remain there, and patiently to await the event, rather than to run the risk of being detected in my flight and retaken: besides, they had had the precaution to carry my bundle and carabine to another hut; I, therefore, laid myself down again on the mat, and fell asleep. I should probably have slept a long time, had I not been awakened by a young woman who brought me some milk and cakes. There being now no one in the hut except her and myself, I entered into conversation with her, and asked her the following questions: Art thou a Caffre? she answered, yes. Whither are the people belonging to this hut gone? "I do not know." When will they return? "I do not know." I, too, wish to be gone; give me my gun and my bundle. "Thou must not go; my father has carried thy gun to another

another hut." But why should I remain here? "Because thou art so beautifully white." Thy father will probably kill me, and eat my flesh? "We have plenty of buffaloes; however, I do not know whether thy flesh may not likewise be eaten." She now left me, and fastened the door on the outside; I was therefore still uncertain what fate awaited me here, but believed that I should either be killed privately, or immolated in public on some day of festivity. Full of such gloomy forebodings, I again resigned myself to sleep. In the mean time the men belonging to the hut had returned, and being informed by the girl of the questions I had asked her, one of them seized me by the feet and shook me violently; but even before this had fully awaked me, I involuntarily screamed out aloud; for I had at that moment been dreaming that my enemies were going to slaughter me. All the by-standers laughed at my terror, and one of them assuming an air of great fierceness and severity, ordered me to rise and pull off my cloaths; as he was resolved to kill me immediately. I slowly raised myself up, fixing my eyes on the man who had thus threatened me; but instead of being insulted or ill-treated by him, I received from him a piece of roasted meat, and some milk from the young woman. He then assured me, that I need not be under any apprehensions of being killed, as
his

his countrymen were not accustomed to eat human flesh. The hut being full of smoke, we adjourned to a grass-plot in its front, and there having seated ourselves in a ring, I was obliged to communicate to them an account of my adventures; which I did more by means of signs and gestures than by words. The man who, during the preceding day's journey, had given me some blows, now expressed much kindness towards me, and said: "Stay here with us, none of us will hurt thee; for we are Caffres, who kill their enemies indeed, but protect the stranger who takes refuge among them: stay here, we will protect thee, and will provide for thee: do not leave us, for if thou shouldst happen to fall into the hands of those cruel robbers the Muloians, they will certainly murder thee. But shouldst thou not like to remain always with us, yet wait, at least, till *goka makkab* (a full-moon) is past, for then the robbers will leave the tract of country through which thou art going to travel." I now began to breathe more freely, and gladly accepted their friendly offer.

During my stay at this kraal, I endeavoured to render myself useful and agreeable to my kind entertainers, by partaking in their labours, carrying wood to their hut, accompanying them to the
chace,

chace, and making various trifling articles which were well received. Every four days a party of twelve men set out from the kraal, to range through the country to the distance of from six to nine English miles, in order to lie in wait for the robbers, in case they should attempt to steal any of their cattle. If they meet with no robbers, they go in pursuit of the wild beasts, that they may not return home without some prey. About a fortnight after my arrival, the mampa, who had before returned me my carabine, sent me out with one of these scouring-parties; and I had the good fortune to render some service to my hospitable friends. We directed our course towards the south-east, where most of the cattle were feeding, and had passed through a wood which was a mile in length, when we saw, as we emerged out of it, several men advancing towards us. My companions immediately knew them to be Tambouki robbers, who would probably attack us. They accordingly exhorted me to fight with the same determined bravery as they should, that so we might not be overcome by these savages. My carabine was already loaded; but, in my hurry, I put into it eight flugs more, and fired among our enemies, as soon as they approached within gun-shot. They halted; and I immediately loaded and fired at them again; whereupon they fled with precipitation,

tion, leaving two of their wounded companions behind. These prisoners we took with us to the kraal; and though they were the most inveterate foes of the Caffres, they were not treated with cruelty. When their wounds were healed, they were employed as slaves to carry wood and water. — This action procured me much honour and distinction among my new friends, who endeavoured by every means in their power to render my abode as agreeable as possible. This kraal contained four hundred and ninety-three inhabitants, among whom there were one hundred sixty men capable of bearing arms. It is the last in Caffraria proper, on the north-east side, and lies at the distance of about one day's journey from the borders of the country inhabited by the Jamatians. The Jamatians, indeed, call themselves Caffres also, but they are not acknowledged as such by the Caffres properly so called, from whom they differ in many respects.

This being the proper place, I shall here introduce some farther account of the manners, customs, and the laws of the Caffres, properly so called. All that tract of country which, on the maps of Africa, is designated by the general name of Caffraria, should be divided into five parts according to the five nations which inhabit it. These

I nations,

nations, indeed, change their places of residence every year: but they take care that no one shall encroach upon the territories of another. The southern Caffres, or those properly so called, inhabit the tract of land from Brugehoogte to the Tumbover, about 140 miles in length, and between 50 and 60 in breadth, from the sea to the kingdom of Biri. But as many other nations pretend to be Caffres, or are considered as such by travellers, we must not be surprized that these latter have given such various accounts of the extent of the country called Caffraria. Within that tract of land which extends in length from south to north two hundred miles, from the Tumbo-river to the Franzis-river, and from eighty-six to one hundred miles in breadth, dwell the following nations:—

1. The Jamatians, whose territory borders on that of the southern or proper Caffres, lying to the south-east.
2. The Muhotians, bounded on the south by Caffraria Proper, and to the east by the Jamatians.
3. The Kamtorrians, whose territory forms a triangle, and borders southward that of the Muhotians, and westward on the kingdom of Biri.
4. The Birians, in the kingdom of Biri; these are subdivided into three tribes, viz. the Birians, properly so called; the Gohavans, who migrated thither from a country situated farther southward; and the Tamboukis.
5. The Kapinrukis,

Kaminrukis,* a patient race of men, who are greatly oppressed by their neighbours. 6. The Monikans, in the kingdom of Monika; who are powerful and very numerous; their territory borders to the south on the kingdom of Biri, and to the east on a country yet unknown. 7. The Jamampaus; who subsist by plundering their neighbours, on which account they were expelled from Monomotapa. The name Jamampau signifies a robber. 8. The Inhambans, inhabiting a small kingdom situated on the river of the same name. They have permitted the Huyjamins to settle among them: these Huyjamins formerly dwelt in a fertile tract of country on the Aroe, whence they were expelled by the Batanzans. 9. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Sabla. 10. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Sofala. 11. The Inhamois. 12. The Inhamafibas. These four last-mentioned nations have formed a defensive

* I am surprized that M. Vaillant should pretend to have been in the country of the Kaminrukis, as it lies about two hundred miles distant from his route. Admitting that he may have occasionally made excursions from his caravan, yet it is hardly possible that during any of these he could have penetrated so far. This nation is not numerous, consisting only of about three thousand souls. They are much hated by the southern Caffres, who are hostile to them on every occasion,

league against their common enemies, and carry on a continual war with the king of Monomotopa, who is endeavouring to subject them again to his dominion. 13. The kingdom of Chicaro, which is inhabited by the four nations that were formerly governed by kings of their own, viz. The Machubis, a warlike race; the Chainuquos, who subsist by pasturage; the Matinapis, who were expelled from the kingdom of Butua, for refusing to pay tribute, and even attempting to kill the king; and the Monglas, who are a gentle but a brave race of men. Their king having sold numbers of his subjects as slaves to the French, an insurrection was the consequence, in which the king lost his life. Among the above enumerated nations there are besides several smaller tribes, who sometimes are distinguished by a slight variation of manners and customs, but who yet on the whole conform to those of the more powerful nation, in whose territory they are settled.—All the above-mentioned nations are by some travellers and geographers comprehended under the general name of Caffres; to which others add, even the Monomotopans, thus making Caffraria extend as far as the river Chireyra. Other divisions have likewise been made, and other boundaries given; but by most of the inhabitants of the countries through which I travelled, the above-mentioned

mentioned nations are held to be Caffres in the more extended sense of the denomination.

The country upon the whole is fruitful, although there are many mountains and morasses; and were it better cultivated, few tracts in Europe would exceed it in fertility. The places, for instance, where nothing now grows except reed-grass, might be made to produce the best wheat. There is no want of minerals, but no advantage is derived from them, the natives being destitute of the requisite knowledge for digging and smelting the ore. There is an abundance of wild and tame animals, as likewise of various herbs and fruits, which are yet but little known in other countries.

The reader has already been informed, that the country commonly called Caffraria, is inhabited by several nations. In this place I shall only give an account of the mode of life, manners, and customs of that particular nation, of which I acquired so accurate a knowledge, and from which the whole country derives its name, viz. the Southern Caffres. The Caffres acknowledge a Supreme Being, and likewise worship the sun and moon; but they have neither temples nor priests. Every one is at full liberty to worship the Divinity in his

own way, and according to his own ideas: the oldest persons of each family instruct the children; as, for instance, the grandfather the boys, and the grandmother the girls. The cloathing of the Caffres resembles that of the Hottentots: they wear a short apron round their waist, and on their shoulders a sort of cloak made of a sheep's-skin. The long thick hair of the men is plaited, and bound with a cloth into a tuft on the top of the head. The women likewise form their hair into braids, which hang down over their shoulders.

The chief person of each kraal is called the mampa, and he settles all trifling disputes: but on matters of great importance, all the men of the kraal decide: thus for instance, they adjudge the punishment for the crime of adultery; and here it may be observed, that the adulteress is punished with the greatest severity, whilst the adulterer meets with a comparatively mild treatment. The men too are allowed to have more than one wife.

In war they behave with great bravery, seldom giving way except when overpowered by superior force and numbers. They are fond of war, and therefore often commit unprovoked acts of hostility against their neighbours. Their weapons consist of lances and clubs. When in the year 1709 they were

were oppressed by the Dutch colonists, they alone raised an army of forty thousand men; and if the other nations, namely those from the borders of the Dutch colonies to the kingdom of Biri, had sent their auxiliary troops with more dispatch, an army of from eighty to ninety-thousand men might have been brought into the field against the Dutch: and Cape-town would not have been able to hold out against their irresistible attack. For the purpose of conveying intelligence with the greatest dispatch to the dispersed hordes when a war breaks out, the horde nearest the borders of the enemy's country erects on an eminence the trunk of a certain tree,* deprived of its branches and bark, which, having smeared it all over with tallow, they set it on fire. On seeing this signal, the warriors of the other kraals hasten to the assistance of their countrymen.

The Caffres are extremely fond of singing and dancing, and other festive sports; and therefore frequently indulge in feasts and merry-makings; especially when the nights are clear and the moon shines bright; for while the sun continues to

* This tree bears fruit resembling our gooseberries. It likewise produces a kind of greenish wax, which is much sought after by the Dutch colonists, who make candles of it.

shine they abstain from dancing and gambling, lest they should thereby give offence to that divine luminary. When they have gained a victory over their enemies, when they have destroyed a ferocious beast of prey, or when they elect a mampa, they never fail to celebrate a festival.

To point out the time when a festival is to be celebrated, the mampa sticks some branches of the palm on the top of his hut. The young men who are not yet capable of bearing arms are not allowed to assist at the celebration of some particular festivals ; nor are the children permitted to be present while the parents dance. Time is here computed by days, moons, and years ; ten lunar months making one year.

Though among the Caffres the women are not held in much estimation, but are even considered as little better than slaves ; yet certain rights and privileges are secured to them by the custom of the country. When a woman is delivered of a child, her husband is not allowed to enter the hut where she lies-in till the end of three days : if she be delivered of a son, the husband must give an entertainment ; but if she brings forth a daughter, she must furnish the feast herself. To such feasts, however, the nearest relatives only are invited.

vited.—In each kraal certain huts are set apart for the women to be delivered in, which no man is allowed to approach. In some hordes each family possesses such a lying-in hut. Under certain restrictions they have the liberty to sue for a divorce; in this respect, however, the husbands have much more in their power than their wives. The wife is obliged to cohabit with the husband as long as he pleases; if however she peremptorily insists upon being parted from him, her request is complied with, but she is forced to leave the kraal. The law prohibits the husband from striking his wife; in this point then the Caffres hath greatly the advantage of the more polished European dame, whom she views with disdainful contempt. A Caffre who beats his wife would be despised by every one, and considered an unworthy member of the kraal. During my stay among this people, I never once knew a man quarrel with his wife, or treat her with opprobrious language; for they regularly, and in the best manner they are able, perform the business and duties which custom has respectively allotted them. If the husband become sick, one of his relations undertakes the management of his affairs; if the wife fall sick, one of her female relations is in like manner obliged to assist her. I now return to the journal of my travels.

Having

Having tarried six weeks with this horde, where I acquired much useful information, how and in what direction I might, with the greatest safety pursue my journey, I at last left the kraal on the 11th of July, and turned to the east, though contrary to the advice of my friends the Caffres. I hoped that by that route I should be able to reach Egypt. Having travelled all day over ground which was tolerably easy to pass, without seeing any kraal or human being, in the evening I ascended a woody ridge of mountains, and resolved to halt there for the night. In this part of the country there are a great number of gemsbucks: whole flocks of them approached the fire at which I lay; and I had the good fortune to kill one of them with the butt-end of my gun. This carcase afforded me an excellent meal. Water I found in abundance; in some of the valleys I was obliged to wade through it up to my knees. On the following day at noon, I left the ridge of mountains in my rear, and entered upon a beautiful plain, above two miles in length, through which flowed a river seven feet broad. The water was somewhat brackish, but not to such a degree as to render it undrinkable. On account of the great heat I tarried here some hours, and bathed in the river. Towards evening, I had reached the end of the plain, and espied huts at some distance:
but

but it was impossible for me to reach them before night. I therefore seated myself in the grass, and resolving to pass the night here, lay down on my bundle. I had lain about an hour, when I felt something seize me by the feet: I had placed my carabine between my legs, and by way of precaution, held the sling in my hand; I therefore instantly pulled it up and drew the trigger. I now started up, and saw four men, who terrified by the explosion, had retired to some distance. Observing that they would not again approach me, I called to them in the Caffrarian language: 'What would you have of me?'—Whereupon they asked me: 'Why art thou come into our country, and whence comest thou?'—I again questioned them: 'Are ye Caffres?'—They answered, "Yes."—"If then ye are of as kind and hospitable disposition as your countrymen, tell me, may I go to lodge all night at your kraal, without being made a prisoner?"—"We must first be informed who thou art;"—answered they, and were going away.—"I am a native of the West Country, and am returning to my own country."—"Follow us," cried they; "but first give us the *Takayudma*" (the murderous-thing).—I surrendered my carabine to them, and followed them. They brought me to a hut, in which a sick old man lay, whom I supposed to be their chief. After they had spoken to him,

him, they shewed me a buffalo's hide near the door of the hut, on which I lay down, and soon began to indulge in no very pleasing reflection on my present situation; for I apprehended they would murder me for the sake of my bundle.— However, sleep at length overpowered me, and I slept soundly till the morning. An old woman then brought some milk and melis for the sick man. I addressed her in the Caffrarian language: but though she earnestly looked at me, she went out again without making me any answer. An hour after, the man who had brought me to the hut on the preceding evening came in. I begged of him to give me some milk: but he desired me to have patience, conversed a short time with the old man, and then left us. I now approached the sick man; and repeated my request to him: but, say what I would, he only shook his head, and answered not a word. I now took up my bundle, and went to the adjoining hut, where I begged of a man whom I found standing at the door, to give me some food and milk; but he referred me to his wife, whom I could not find. I then placed myself in front of the sick man's hut, hoping to see the person who first took my carabine from me; and requested every one that passed by, to shew me his hut: but received no answer. In a short time a great crowd of people assembled about me,

me, and some of them took my bundle from me; I remonstrated as loudly as I could; but in vain. Finding my entreaties disregarded, I seized the man by the hair who held my bundle; but was obliged to let go my hold, being attacked on every side. I exclaimed against them with great vociferation: but that only served to increase the mirth of the by-standers. In fear of my life, I expected every moment to receive the death-blow, when a man hastened up to us, with a club in his hand, which he applied as freely to my assailants as to me, and at last thrust me into the hut with a degree of violence which took away my senses. I soon recovered, but still received no food; I was under constant apprehension of being murdered. The patient grew angry, and talked a good deal, of which, however, I did not understand a word; at length the old woman I have already mentioned, brought some milk and a stick of sugar, put it down and went away; although I did not know for whom these articles of food were intended, I helped myself without hesitation, and instantly devoured them.

At noon, three of those men who had carried me into the kraal entered the hut. One of them was the man who had taken away my carabine; I entreated him to bring it to me, as I intended to pursue

purfue my journey, and alfo mentioned that I had been robbed of my bundle. Without giving any answer, he went away and foon returned, attended by the man who had cudgelled and thruft me into the hut. At the clofe of a long converfation, in an idiom which I did not underftand, they at laft informed me in the language of the Caffres, that my effects fhould be returned. Some told me that he who had beaten me was the caujata (vice or deputy chieftain), and that to him I was indebted for my life; for having witneffed the ill-ufage I experienced, he had haftened up to us to fettle the difference; the by-ftanders, they added, had no intention to keep my bundle, but were only defirous to fee what articles it contained. My deliverer endeavoured to prevail upon me to remain longer with them, and promifed to fetch the effects of which I had been robbed, which promife he infantly performed. My carabine and knapfack being alfo returned, he defired me immediately to examine into the contents of the latter, and fee whether any thing was miffing. On my affuring him that nothing was wanting, he faid, “ Well, you may now go whither you please, but if you please to ftay, you may live in my hut: fhould you go towards the quarter where the fun rifes, you will find five more kraals of our friends; if any of them fearch your bundle, never fear,
you

you will not be robbed. Stay in my hut till you go, I will show you the way." The evening was spent in the most pleasant manner; a number of people assembled round our hut, placed the chief in the midst of them, and went in procession to a field before the kraal, where a large fire was kindled, and the company sang and danced. This entertainment lasted three hours; they then separated, after having previously conducted the *caujata* into his hut, which every one present decorated with a bough. This festival is celebrated at every full moon, if the moon be not covered with clouds; it is called *mikaphikm* (God's-day), but if it be overcast, the whole kraal grieves, from a supposition that the Divinity is displeased. They draw the same conclusion with respect to the sun, whom they also worship; if he rises overspread with clouds, they say, that the nation over which he stands, has made him angry; if at noon, when the sun stands over them, the clouds disperse, they rejoice in the idea that they have appeased his wrath by good actions, and celebrate a festival; but if the contrary happens, and the sun which rose in splendour be overhung with clouds at noon, they mourn, and assemble to try and punish those who have offended against the law; if in this case the sky brightens, the judge is deemed to have acted right and fair; but if a storm succeed, they conclude

conclude that he has pronounced an unjust sentence, and they ask pardon of the punished.

Being taken ill in the night with severe pains in my bowels, I arose to go out of the hut, but tumbled over my host, who set up a dreadful scream. On my asking his pardon, and acquainting him with my indisposition, he grew calm, arose, kindled a fire, brought some dry leaves, which he directed me to chew, and led me out of the hut; a violent vomiting ensued, and the pains abated. The next morning I pursued my journey, attended by my host, who showed me the way, and gave me some more of the above dry leaves, which did me much good: until noon my road was good, and lay through a wood, where I found large quantities of yellow plums and apples. I reached afterwards an arm of the river Tumba or Tambu, which by the natives is called *Mb-kyfab*; it abounded with fish, a number of which I caught with my hand; kindled a fire to roast them, and made an excellent meal. On my left hand I perceived several huts, but being neither in want of food nor drink, I avoided them and turned a little to the north-east. About the fall of night I saw thirty huts before me, walked towards them, and met a young woman, whom I addressed in the language of the Caffres. She looked at me, but returned no answer:

swer: I made a sign that I was thirsty, and she pointed, in reply, to the river from whence I came. On my expressing further by signs, that I wished to sleep in a hut, she pointed to the grass on which we stood. I then offered to go with her, but she pushed me back; I therefore let her go before me, and followed: at the first hut I came to, I saw thirty men armed with clubs, whom I asked whether they intended to kill me? "Yes, they answered, if I was a robber." I told them that I was not; they drew near, viewed my firelock, took my bundle from my back, and examined it. One took my axe, another my firelock, and the whole party withdrew: I collected the things which they had scattered about, went to the first hut, and enquired after the *caujata*. Instead of an answer, I received two blows with a club from a young man, who rushed out of the hut and thrust me away. I went to a second hut, and met with the same reception: night coming on, I was necessitated to quit the kraal, where instead of hospitality, I met with ill-treatment, and to lay down on the grass. Unable to sleep, I considered in what manner I should act to recover my firelock and axe: at break of day I saw three men coming out of the kraal; I thought they were in search of me, arose, walked up to them, and addressed them in the most respectful manner, and entreated that they would pro-

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cure me, my axe and firelock, and thus enable me to pursue my journey. They asked me from whence I came, and whither I was going? Having heard my answer, they went back to the kraal, and I lay down on the grass in expectation of the event; but as none of them returned, I took courage, and went to the kraal, to seek for my axe and carabine. At the very entrance of the village I saw the men with whom I had conversed before; they threatened me with their clubs, but I persisted in my demand, drew my cutlafs, and went straight up to the huts. They retreated, but at the same time called out—*bokatotago kokhmahoo* (if you enter our huts, we will kill you on the spot); I took no notice of their threats, and advanced with intrepidity and spirit. But it struck me that it would be more prudent to apply to the chief, and I went immediately to the fourth hut, which was decorated with boughs, and thereby distinguished as the residence of the chieftain. I hastened up to it, for I was followed by a whole troop of armed men, and exposed to the utmost danger: on my arrival at the hut, the chief sallied forth, holding a large club in his hand. I entreated his assistance and protection against his comrades, who threatened to kill me, because I demanded my property, of which they had robbed me the preceding evening. He listened with the utmost attention, conducted

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me to the hut, and pointed to the grafs on which I was to fit down. Having done fo, I was asked by him, "from whence I came, and whither I was going?" I answered him, and particularly acquainted him that I had already fpent fix months among his countrymen, had hitherto met with a kind reception, and no where with ill treatment, but in his kraal. I fhould not have come here at all, I added, but that the neighbouring chiefs had affured me, that here alfo I fhould receive protection. This fpeech had its effect; he answered, "Here too thou fhalt be fafe; thy effects fhall be reftored; ftay here, I will go and fetch them." He faid a few words to the by-ftanders, which I did not underftand, and went away: in a fhort time after he brought me the axe and the ftock of the firelock, but the barrel of which was already broken in pieces, to convert into haffagays. I was happy in having recovered my axe, but complained to him that the gun was rendered ufelefs, by its barrel being broken. He fent for the man who had taken it, talked with him, and was about to ftrike him with his club; but I fprung up from the ground, embraced the chieftain, and entreated him not to hurt the poor fellow. I fucceeded in allaying his paffion, and he laid down his club: I was obliged to refort to this means of conciliating the friendship of the by-ftanders, left

should way-lay me on my departure. Having eaten some more plums and milk, I quitted that odious kraal, attended by the chieftain, who showed me the right road. In the evening I reached the river Tambu, and perceived kraals both on my right and left: though my stock of provisions was very scanty, consisting only of some meat and plums, yet I did not venture to visit them, but lay down on the bank of the river, where I felled a tree to serve me as a raft for crossing the river. The next morning I effected my passage, and began to fish; but could not catch any thing except some muscles which I broiled on coals and made a good meal. Before me lay a plain, chequered with sand and reed-grass; I took my road across it, as I wished to avoid the huts, which I perceived on the chain of mountains to the eastward. In a kind of meadow I found on a little sand-hill an ostrich nest with seven eggs, which gave me a deal of pleasure. Although I had travelled but six miles, I determined to stop here for the night, especially with a view to dress some of the eggs. While I was gathering firewood I found a number of good apples, and collected also other provisions sufficient for two days. In the night I was visited by wolves, tygers, and elephants, at whose sight I was not alarmed half so much, as at the sight of some wild dogs, who chased some buffaloes at a few paces distance from

from me. In order not to attract their attention, I moved as close to the fire as I could possibly bear, and stirred it constantly, that the sparks might spread around: I remained without molestation, but was obliged to keep awake the whole night. Towards morning, having slept a few hours, I journeyed onward; two hours after I arrived at another arm of the river Tamba, perceived the river itself towards the north-east, and on its banks several huts were visible, which I could not possibly avoid. I therefore pursued the same route, and reached the river at five o'clock in the afternoon; it had overflowed its banks and inundated the adjacent country. From the heavy falls of rain, which generally attend a thunder-storm in these parts, such inundations are frequently effected in a few hours.

I came to the huts near the river, the inhabitants of which I found engaged in fishing. On my asking permission to stay all night in their kraal, they looked at each other, but returned no answer. My bundle proving rather troublesome to me, I put it on the ground, and endeavoured to assist them in fishing, which they did not object to. At last one of them addressed me in a language which I did not comprehend; apparently angry on ac-

count of my ignorance, he left me and joined his companions ; I followed, and addressed several of them, but none could give me an answer. I now endeavoured to express my desires by looks and gestures, asked for some milk, and obtained a pottle, for which I gave an ostrich egg to the man who brought it ; at first he would not accept of it, but he took it at length. I sat down near the huts, and was soon surrounded by a crowd, who did not do me the least harm. The circumstance that I could not make myself understood gave me great concern, as they would probably have bestowed on me many other favours. Having expressed by signs my wish to take repose on this spot, and placed my bundle under my head, some of the girls fetched immediately some sheep-skins, to serve me for bedding and covering. Convinced of their friendly sentiments towards me, I seized one of the girls and drew her down on the skins ; she shrieked out, but soon grew quiet, as she saw that the by-standers were laughing at her. I let her go, but the by-standers pushed her back again ; I kept her accordingly until the evening, when she hastened away with the rest of the company. I fell asleep, though I was tortured by hunger, having been kept awake several successive nights, by the fear of wild beasts.

Early

Early in the morning I was awakened by the above-mentioned girl, who brought me some milk and a roasted fish. Having finished my meal she beckoned me to follow her, which I did without the least hesitation. She conducted me to a hut, where I was surrounded by a number of people, who supplied me with plenty of milk. A young man invited me to stay with them, because the river had overflowed, an invitation which I accepted. The girl then carried my bundle into the hut, and seeing that a fire was burning, I followed and put an ostrich-egg into it, to prepare a meal. In the meantime the mother returned from milking; she gave me some warm from the cow, and treated me very kindly. She was a widow, to whom their law gave permission to entertain a stranger. I must confess upon the whole that I was much astonished at the kind treatment which I experienced, as the horde was part of the same nation as the kraal was, where I had been so ill used. I assisted them in fishing, hunting, cutting up the game, and the like. I made in particular another and better sort of fishing tackle than was in use, and thereby gained their particular friendship and esteem. On my enquiries, whether I could travel in safety on the other side of the river, I learnt that the people who inhabited those parts were extremely ferocious,

and at the same time very poor, from the sterility of the soil, and yet I could not avoid them without taking a very circuitous route. After staying nine days with this friendly horde, I therefore passed the river and turned northwards, in which direction I knew I should find some other kraals of the same nation. The above-mentioned girl and three men accompanied me as far as the mountain, where they took leave of me in the most affectionate manner. From the summit of the mountain I perceived the sea at a considerable distance, and saw before me an immense chain of mountains, interspersed with some insulated huts. On descending the mountain, and walking through a narrow dale, I observed on my right six high huts, towards which I shaped my route. When I arrived at the first and saw nothing of the inhabitants, I called for somebody to come out; but I received an unintelligible answer, and nobody appeared. At length I took courage and entered the hut, where I heard the sound of a man's voice accompanied with groans. I asked who was there, but received no answer. As I was turning round to quit the hut a man came crawling after me, whose aspect was truly frightful. He had the small-pox*

* Probably this was not the true European small-pox, but some endemic cutaneous distemper of that part of Africa.

in a degree of malignity, which I have never observed in any European; added to which the red and white appearance of the eruption formed a singular contrast with the black colour of the body of the patient. The fright with which I was struck at first was soon turned into pity; I presented the patient with an ostrich egg, and hastened away to visit the habitations of the healthy. These six huts were solely destined for the reception of sick people, who, from the dread of their disorder, were very badly attended. The small-pox is dreaded here as the most horrid disease; whoever is afflicted with it must quit the horde, and retire into separate huts; where being visited by nobody he must perish in want and misery, unless he has supplied himself with provision, or preserves sufficient strength to leave the hut in quest of food. I hastened away lest I should be noticed by the inhabitants of the kraal, situated at some distance from these huts, and in consequence either refused admission or ill used. On my drawing near to the kraal, which consisted of about seventy huts, I was surrounded by so great a crowd, that I could not move. At last I was accosted by the chief, a handsome young man, who conducted me to the kraal, and opened an empty hut, which I entered. I addressed the chief, who, to my great joy, understood

stood at least some expressions of the idiom of the Caffres; and told him whence I came and whither I was going. He heard me with attention, but now and then cast a look at my bundle, which seemed to indicate that he wanted some of its contents. Having three shillings in my pocket I gave them to him; he was extremely pleased, looked frequently at the money, and was more ready to assist me. I asked for some milk; he went away, and in a short time a young woman brought me milk and cakes. When others next saw him they likewise brought milk. In the evening I was going to prepare my couch, but was prevented by the people, because this hut had been inhabited by persons afflicted with the small-pox. I therefore made my bed before the hut, and several of the by-standers brought me hides and skins for a covering. The next morning I was seized with a headache, and a considerable degree of fever. I did not get up as I was in hopes of bringing on a perspiration; but was surrounded by a great crowd. Several of them being apparently of opinion that I had caught the small-pox, I showed them the pock-holes in my body and in my face to allay their fears, and told the chieftain, who understood me tolerably well, that my illness was occasioned by my having last night drank milk immediately after eating plums. The next day I was perfectly recovered,

recovered, but I bruised into a powder some of the leaves, which sometime ago I received from a mampa, the salutary effects of which I had already experienced; I took this powder, and it produced such strong evacuations that the fever entirely left me. They probably would have insisted on my continuing here sometime longer, had not some of them been apprehensive that my indisposition might prove to be an infectious disease. Before the kraal I saw several fields of millet and Indian corn.

I travelled over a fruitful vale fifteen miles in length, in front of the above-mentioned chain of mountains, and I found variety of fruit-trees. I did not taste of the fruit, my appetite being taken away by the excessive heat of the weather. At night I kindled a fire, near a brook which watered this vale, on a spot where I intended to pass the night, but was prevented from sleeping by the great number of large and small snakes which were attracted by the fire. In the morning I saw also a great many baboons, several of which were three feet and half in height. They were perched upon the neighbouring trees. I could not intimidate them, either by throwing stones at them, or by hallooing; several of them even came up to me, and stared me in the face. On account of these
animals

animals I could not start early, but was obliged to wait until they had retired into the woods. On quitting the vale, I came to a fine plain, thinly interspersed with huts. Not far from here is the boundary between the Jamatians and Muhatians, about half a day's journey from the river Makumba. I took the route towards the next horde, consisting of about forty huts, and was well received. The inhabitants danced around me, brought milk and millet-cakes, and shewed me great kindness. My company did not leave me till late in the night; my couch was assigned me before the hut of the chieftain, and covered with hides and skins, brought by the inhabitants.—When I awoke, I found a crowd assembled round me, and was regaled with a plentiful breakfast. I should have been happy to have offered them some presents in return, but having sewed up my money in my waistcoat, I did not think fit to open it, lest I should tempt their rapacity. I resolved to stay here a few days, to gather, if possible, some information respecting the neighbouring tribe, which, by some other kraals, had been described to me as a cruel and rapacious nation, but which, by what I could learn, did no injury to strangers, when visiting their kraal. An old man took particular notice of me, admired in particular my dress, and showed a strong desire to put on my breeches.

breeches. The pair I wore being full of vermin, I took some clean linen drawers out of my bundle, which he accepted with a deal of pleasure. I presented his daughter, a fine girl about fifteen years old, with a shift, and put it on her myself. The whole company were highly pleased with it, and endeavoured to express their satisfaction by increased kindness. At this place I made myself an apron of two sheep skins, which reached round the whole body, and to prevent vermin from labouring in it, I greased it all over with the fat of a sheep's tail; this apron rendered me much service. I likewise exercised myself, under the direction of the above-mentioned senior, in throwing the javelin, went a hunting, and endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of the language. During my stay among them they pressed from a fruit, which they call *gagahoguba*, a kind of wine which tasted exceeding well. I insensibly became tipsy by drinking it, so that I began to be very merry and to sing. When they heard this in the kraal, numbers, especially young women, crowded around me. The young women brought me more of the wine in excavated gourds, and emulously pressed me to drink it. These copious draughts at last so completely intoxicated me, that I laid hold of, and kissed several of the girls, and danced and gamboled about with them. This was quite to their taste, and

and secured me their favour. From that time I was superabundantly supplied with provisions, and treated with great respect.—If I appeared to be dejected, the by-standers would likewise assume an air of melancholy: and when I became cheerful, they expressed great satisfaction and joy.

This is not an improper place to give some account of the origin, manners and customs of the people of this nation, especially as they, and some other of the tribes inhabiting this tract of country, have been described as sanguinary and ferocious savages.

The Jamatians and their neighbours conquered at the same time the kingdom of Angola from the southern Caffres: but at what period of time this event took place cannot now be accurately determined. They themselves say, that it happened *auroréup*, i. e. 300 years ago; but these years consisting of only ten lunar months, do not correspond with an equal number of our years. Others place this conquest as far back as four hundred years. The most probable opinion is, that the Jamatians invaded Angola at the time when the Portuguese landed on the African coast, and who endeavoured to propagate christianity by means of fire and sword.

The

The language of the Jamatians is no longer unmixed, many words and phrases of it being borrowed from that of the southern Caffres, several of whose customs they have likewise adopted. The following usages are peculiar to this nation. The chief possesses an almost unlimited power over the horde; he enacts laws and inflicts punishments. Like the Caffres, they generally choose a gloomy day for the execution of their criminals. In war time they are commanded by their chief: but there being no proper subordination of ranks, every individual is in general left to act according to his judgment. Sometimes forty or fifty of them form themselves into a close body and fall upon the enemy. If their leader be killed or badly wounded, they choose in his stead the person whom they think best qualified by his knowledge and courage. This nation may be estimated to consist of about three thousand souls. The men are mostly employed in hunting, and the women in the management of domestic affairs and in the care of the cattle. The father instructs the sons, and the mother the daughters, in their respective employments; and the grandfather and grandmother teach them the maxims of morality and the religious ceremonies. Circumcision is not practised among them. A young Jamatian cannot obtain possession of his bride,
even

even after marriage, until he has given some proof of his courage and prowess, as for instance, by his killing some ferocious beast of prey, or the like; but having once performed some valourous action, he may marry two or even more wives. Adultery is punished with death. The women are here treated much better than among many other of the neighbouring nations, especially if their first child happen to be a son. Divorces seldom take place: complaints are however made against a wife on account of barrenness. The husband first mentions it to the grandfather and grandmother, or, if they be dead, to the parents of his wife; and they apply to the chief of the horde, who usually grants permission to the wife to make trial of another partner. If she now prove pregnant, her husband must, in the presence of the whole community, ask her pardon, and likewise invoke the gods not to punish him for having wrongfully accused her. The women bring forth their children without much difficulty. When they feel the pains of child-birth coming upon them, they retire to one of the huts set apart for the purpose, and are attended by their female relations. No man, not even their own husbands are allowed to go near these huts. Four days after delivery, the wife returns to the hut of her husband. If the newly-born child be a boy; the husband, has already

already made preparations for a feast: but if it be a girl, the wife must give an entertainment to her female friends, at which however none of the men are allowed to be present. The Jamatians, and many other African nations and tribes, have been accused of indolence: but I am convinced, that if laborious Europeans were transplanted into this country, they would not effect more than the natives. The excessive heat oppresses the labourer and exhausts all his strength: to which it may be added, that most of these tribes are destitute of proper tools and **implements** of husbandry, such as spades, rakes, and other agricultural instruments, and that the ground is ~~sometimes~~ so parched and hard, that it is necessary to cleave it with a kind of axe. The preparing of the few acres which they sow with millet and Indian corn, requires much time and labour. I observed here, that two strong active men could not, with their tools, prepare in one day more than six square feet of ground. After they have sown the seed, they cover the earth with sand, two inches deep, to prevent the moisture from evaporating too quickly, and the ground from cracking, if excessive heat should immediately succeed to rain. It is not then to be wondered at, that they neglect the cultivation of the soil; as from hunting, fishing, and the keeping of numerous herds of cattle,

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they

they can derive greater advantages with less toil and trouble. The Jamatians are indeed much addicted to pillage: but they are seldom guilty of murder, nor do they ever devour their prisoners. Several European travellers,* who pretend to have visited this nation, assert that the Jamatians were very fond of human flesh; but the assertion is not true, at least, I never met with an instance of cannibalism among them. A traveller who understands their language has nothing to fear; especially if he be badly dressed, and carry no article of value about him.

They bury the dead at a distance from the kraal: and the relatives of the deceased keep up a fire on the grave for three days, that so wild beasts may not be attracted by the scent of the dead body. Few persons die in the kraal. The sick are in general removed to huts situated at some distance from it; for the Jamatians believe every disease to be infectious, and that it is the duty of those in health to endeavour to escape the infections by every precaution in their power.

* Kolbe, Sparrmann, Patterson, and others.

CHAP. V.

The Author leaves the Territory of the Jamatians, and goes to that of the Muhotians, where he is treated at first with Severity, but on every Occasion favoured by the Women—The Bodies of five murdered Europeans are shewn him—He is in Danger of becoming the Victim of unnatural Lust—Makes his Escape, and arrives at another Kraal of the Muhotians, whence he is freely suffered to depart—Arrives at the Mucumbo-river, and the Village of the Kamtarians—Description of that Nation, their Character, Customs, Manners, Language, &c.

AFTER a residence of three weeks among them, I left the kraal of the Jamatians, and pursued my journey in a direction more to the north than the east, hoping thus to be able to cross the Macumbo with less difficulty. Having travelled through a beautiful plain, five German miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, I, towards evening, passed the river on a raft which

I had made for that purpose. On the opposite bank I kindled a fire, resolving to halt there for the night. My cloaths being full of vermin, I here burnt them, preserving only my waistcoat, in the lining of which I had sewed my money. Some gems-bocks approaching close to the fire, I had the good fortune to kill one of them with my hatchet, and roasted part of the carcase for my supper.

In the morning I began to ascend a chain of mountains, which divides the territory of the Jamatians from that of the Muhotians, and had reached its summit before noon. Towards evening I had left these mountains in my rear, and before me lay a large sandy level. Here I dug a bed for myself in the sand, and slept undisturbed all night. I had not proceeded far on the following day, when, for the first time, I saw some Muhotians. It was a hunting party consisting of six men. They probably would not have seen me, if I had not called to them. On hearing my voice, they halted. I went up to them, and addressing them in the Caffreian language, asked, whether they had been successful in the chase; whereupon one of them answered: "Yes; for we have caught an uncommon animal;"—meaning
me

me.—Their looks and whole appearance were wild and savage. They had killed a large roe-buck, which they forced me to carry. My strength failing me, I several times sunk under my burden; but was forced by blows to take up my load again, and to follow them several miles through bushes and high reed-grass, to the great diversion of my companions, who laughed at the plaintive tones with which I implored their compassion. It was near evening before we reached their kraal, which was situated on a level adjoining to an arm of the river Macumbo, and consisted of about forty badly-constructed huts. Most of the inhabitants of the kraal came running out to see the strange animal, as my conductors called me. As soon as I had thrown down the roe-buck, they began to rummage my bundle, and even pulled off the apron I had tied round my loins, exposing me as a shew to the curious eyes of the croud. A number of women and young girls viewed me in this state, and said to the by-standers, that I was very handsome; they likewise begged of the men to restore my apron to me, but were told in reply, that I looked much better without it. At night they put me into the farther corner of a hut, to prevent my escaping, and gave me only a hide to lie down on. I was much dejected, for I expected nothing but ill usage here; however I was under

the necessity of resigning myself patiently to my fate. Being excessively thirsty, I requested something to drink; and they gave me milk and a cake made of millet. On the following morning, being refreshed by sleep, and feeling my strength and courage revive, I firmly resolved, to resist if they attempted to repeat the harsh treatment I had endured the preceding day, even should it cost me my life. Most of the inhabitants of the hut being gone, I arose, and, as they had not restored my apron to me, I fastened the hide, on which I had slept, round my body, and then went to the door of the hut, where I found the mistress of it, and demanded of her the articles I had lost. She could not answer me; but intimated to me by means of signs, that I must remain in the hut, or her husband would beat me. I repeated my request, and she now signified to me that the things belonging to me were, indeed, deposited in the hut, but that she durst not deliver them up to me. She gave me some milk and millet, and I swallowed both with the greatest avidity. I then began to skin and cut up the roc-buck in the manner I had seen it done in Europe; and while I was thus employed, my host returned, who seemed to be well pleased with what I was doing. However, he attempted to pull off the hide which I had wound round me: but I resisted. My resolute behaviour startled

startled him, and he seemed to acquiesce; he went, however, into the hut to fetch his club, with which he menaced me, but I took courage, and, in my turn, threatened him with the knife* which I then held in my hand. This imprudence might have cost me my life; for the by-standers laughing aloud at my antagonist's expence, it so enraged him, that he leaped towards me with a design to knock me down with his club. I parried the blow, wrenched the club from his hand, and brandished it at him. Just as I was aiming a blow at his head, several other men laid hold of me, and dragged me away; my antagonist following with loud vociferation, and attempting to strike me. I was conducted to another hut, where I found an old man, who seemed to be their chief. He viewed me attentively, then lifted up my apron, probably to discover my sex, and at length, turning to my enemy, he spoke to him for a considerable time with great vehemence; but of their discourse, I was only able to understand a few unconnected words. After they had apparently come to an agreement on the matter in dispute, the old man was going to lead me into his hut; I requested

* The blades of these knives are a foot long and two inches broad, and not unlike the knives used by shoemakers.

him first to order the articles, which had been taken from me, to be restored to me ; and in particular my axe, but he did not understand what I meant. At length, however, my late host explained to him what I wanted, and immediately dispatched a boy, who soon returned with them. I now went into the hut, glad to find a shelter where I might take some rest without being exposed to the croud and to the excessive heat : but the men assembled at the door of the hut, still continued to talk about me, and I learned from their conversation, that it had been resolved upon to detain me, at least, till I should have begotten a white child with one of their young women. In the evening I was conducted to a place behind the kraal, where the young women were dancing. The old man invited me by signs to partake of the diversion ; but I was too hungry and faint to be able to join them, and therefore stood still. He, however, soon began to encourage me again, and even brought me a handsome young girl to be my partner. I took hold of her hand, but did not follow her to the dance. The girl gave me a look which seemed to solicit me to dance with her ; and when I told her, by means of signs, that I was hungry, she ran and informed the old man of it, who immediately ordered a millet-cake and a large piece of meat to be brought me. When I had
satisfied

satisfied my appetite, I started up, laid hold of the girl, and mingled with the dancers. About half an hour after, the old man returned to his hut, whither I followed him, and my partner in the dance went with us, with the intention of sleeping with me. Very early on the following morning, I attempted secretly to make my escape; but my bed-fellow discovered my design, and betrayed me. My old host was going to strike me, but the girl interceded in my favour. However I received no breakfast, and, as a punishment, was obliged to carry wood to the hut. While thus employed I made another attempt to escape, and had the good fortune to succeed. Having brought several loads of wood to the hut, I pretended that I was going to fetch some more, but ran away in a direction quite opposite, and soon reached a ridge of mountains, where I thought myself secure from pursuit. In this precipitate flight I had not been able to bring away any thing except my waistcoat and axe: still I was very glad to have got off so well, and ran with as much speed as I possibly could; but became at length so faint, that I was unable to proceed to a kraal, which I saw at a considerable distance before me. Exhausted by fatigue, and tormented with hunger and thirst, I lay down on the ground in a state of mind bordering on despair, as I saw no prospect of relief or assistance.

At

At length raising myself up again, I espied a herd of cattle; and, exerting all my remaining strength, I went towards it, to request some water of the herdsman attending it. When I first addressed him, he threatened to strike me: but the sight of a guilder, which I had taken from my waistcoat on purpose, softened his furliness; and he gave me some milk and a millet-cake, and allowed me to remain with him all night. At the first dawn of day, however, I secretly decamped, without taking leave of the herdsman, who was yet asleep, and soon entered a wood, which extended in a north-easterly direction. At noon I had passed this wood, and continued to pursue my journey through a plain, where I found reed-grass and a number of trees which produced fruit similar to our plumbs. Here I kindled a fire, intending to sleep; but was driven away by a herd of elephants, and forced to walk all night. At sun-rise I arrived at the end of the plain, and saw on both sides of me huts and mountains. Being excessively fatigued, I lay down in the grass, and began to deliberate, whether, or not, I should approach the huts. Having resolved to avoid them, I began to search around, in hopes of finding a spring in the neighbourhood of the kraal; for this purpose I had proceeded in an easterly direction, but finding none, was on the point of turning to the north-east, when I perceived

crossed four people, with water-vessels, crossing my road obliquely from west to east. I ran as fast as I could towards them; but soon discovered that they were coming towards me. They were women, who had been to fetch water, and who asked me, by signs, whence I came, and whither I was going. I signified to them, that I was looking for water, whereupon one of them gave me her pitcher, which I almost emptied. She viewed me attentively, and winked to me to go with her to the kraal. At first, indeed, I had resolved not to go thither; but, being very hungry, I followed them. On my arrival there, I was immediately surrounded by a great concourse of people, among whom, however, there were but few men. These began to handle me in the same indecent manner as at the kraal I had last escaped from, and even pulled me from one another, each attempting to keep possession of me. I sat down on the ground, and resolved to resist, if they should again treat me with such brutal rudeness. The women, observing that I was hungry and thirsty, brought me meat and milk, and while I was eating, formed themselves into a circle around me, to hinder the men from interrupting me. An old man, who was the chief of the kraal, now made his appearance. After viewing me attentively, he ordered the women to lift me up, and lead me to his hut, supposing,

supposing, perhaps, that I was not able to walk alone. He ordered some flesh and milk to be given me, and after I had eaten it, obliged me to accompany him and his son-in-law to a thicket distant about half an hour's walk from the kraal. My conductors stopped at a sand-hillock, from which they removed the brush-wood with which it was covered, and, O God! what a horrible spectacle presented itself to my view! the bodies of five white men, pierced with innumerable wounds, and who had probably been murdered with javelins! Surprise and terror so overpowered me, that I had nearly fallen down senseless on the dead bodies; for I believed that I too had been brought thither to be murdered. My two companions asked me, by means of signs, whether I had known these men; and I answered, that I had not. I carefully examined the bodies, hoping to discover to what country they had belonged: but found no distinguishing national marks, except the figure of a cross, and under it the letters H. I. E. M. and the date of the year, 1799, on the right arm of one of them; but they were in so putrid a state, that I did not attempt to turn them. Having again covered the bodies with the brush-wood, and returned to the kraal, I signified my desire to proceed on my journey, but was not allowed to depart. I therefore firmly
resolved

resolved, that if I found they attempted to immolate me as they had done the Europeans, I would prevent them by piercing my own heart with a sharp-pointed piece of iron.

My new masters employed me in carrying wood, fetching water, and cutting up the game, which they happened to kill : but a person always attended me as a guard, commonly the son-in-law of the old chief. As I performed with ease and dispatch the tasks imposed upon me, I had leisure every day to walk about the kraal, and, as they began to treat me with more mildness, I resolved to remain here some weeks in order to acquire a knowledge of the country and language ; but I soon altered my intention. One morning, when I was at a neighbouring thicket cutting some wood, attended, as usual, by the son-in-law of the old chief, the villain made me a proposal of a most shocking nature. I started back with abhorrence, and resisted his infamous attempt : but he began to employ force, threw me on the ground, and beat me so unmercifully, that my whole body was covered with bruises and livid spots. Cries and tears had no effect upon him ; at last, however, when he saw that not even the most violent treatment could extort my consent to the gratification of his abominable desires, he desisted and let me go.

I was

I was scarcely able to walk, but was, notwithstanding, obliged to take a bundle of wood upon my shoulders, and carry it to the kraal. I was going to inform the old man of what had happened, but the son-in-law threatened to kill me with his javelin, and told him that I had endeavoured to escape, and that, when he had strove to hinder me, I had attacked him with a piece of wood. In consequence of this false accusation, I received no breakfast, and was treated with great contempt and harshness. At last, being alone with the old man, I informed him by means of signs, how his son-in-law had behaved towards me, and for what reason he had beaten me. The old man laughed, and seemed to consider it as nothing uncommon. This made me more attentive, and I now discovered, that the contention at my first arrival in the kraal arose from every one's wishing to obtain possession of me for the same abominable purpose; and indeed, other attempts were afterwards made to seduce me. I likewise learned, that a quarrel had taken place between this horde and a horde of the Kamtarians respecting the above-mentioned Europeans, whose bodies I had seen; each party having endeavoured to seize them, for the sake of their property, and for the gratification of their diabolical lusts. The hostile horde, I was told, had at last killed, and robbed them,

them, and left their naked bodies; and that the Muhotians had carried them to the place where I had seen them, and covered them with the brush-wood. These Kantarians, who possess a tract of country to the north-east of the territory of the Muhotians, were described to me as a savage and cruel race of men; and they were then at war with the Muhotians; for these reasons therefore I was afraid to proceed directly into their country; neither could I proceed in another direction, as the broad and deep river Lorenzo would soon hinder my farther progress.—But as the same abhorred proposals were repeatedly made to me, and as I feared that I should, some day or other, be again assaulted in the wood, and be killed for resisting their unnatural desires, I determined, however great the danger, to make my escape the first favourable opportunity, and proceed on my journey. An opportunity soon occurred: they were celebrating a war-feast,* and in the evening, amidst their dancing, and rejoicing, neglected to watch me with their usual strictness and attention.

* This was a feast, at which they were to determine upon war, and to enquire, whether in the prosecution of it they might be successful or not. The following is their manner of proceeding on such occasions.

If a neighbouring nation has declared war against them, or

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I therefore seized my axe, hastened to the forest, whence I had frequently fetched wood, and effected my escape. I soon reached a mountain, passed it with all possible speed, and journeyed on, though wild beasts occasionally checked my progress. At dawn of day I sat down on a rock and ate the meat and millet-cake, which I had brought with me. Having rested an hour, I pursued my journey, and reached a fruitful vale covered with numerous trees, where I quenched my thirst with the afore-mentioned fruit, *Gegaboguba*. At noon

if they are in want of provisions, and their neighbours have an abundance thereof; the oldest men of the horde assemble at the hut of the chief, and deliberate how to subdue their enemies or rob them of their property. If the result of their deliberation turns out favourable to the enterprize, two of the most skilful hunters are dispatched to kill two roe-bucks, which are roasted on the following day, when the war-feast is properly celebrated. While the bucks are roasting the chief informs the multitude of the resolution, taken by him and the elders, and then begins to cut up the roasted game, at the same time exclaiming, "I fight for you, and your welfare, and in the same manner as I cut up this game, and devour part of it, so will we destroy and burn our enemies." Every one of the company then tears a piece from the roasted buck, repeats the words of the chief, and eats the meat. This ceremony being finished, the bones are thrown into the fire, which they dance around. They commence from that moment the necessary preparations for war, and march in a few days.

I came

I came to a rivulet eight feet in breadth, and from three to four feet deep, the name of which, as I afterwards learned, is Quapakaop: it takes its rise in a mountain, situated to the westward, and bends its course to the south east, where it empties itself into the river Makumbo. At the extremity of the vale I perceived a kraal; I wished to avoid it, but was already too near, and perceived two men, about twenty paces distant, who were prepared to receive me with their javelins. I threw myself on the ground, and cried out, as they were drawing near "*topar orihakob*" (the gods greet you.) On their coming up to me, I observed they were Muthotians, and taking courage, requested they would give me some water. They then directed me to a spring, on the other side of their huts, where I threw myself on the grass, and refreshed myself. In a short time, upwards of an hundred persons crowded about me, who appeared to commiserate my situation. One gave me a piece of meat, another, millet-cake and plums, and I was invited by signs, to enter their huts. I pretended not to comprehend their signs, and did not move, when, some of them endeavoured to drag me along. Enraged at their treatment, I prepared to defend myself with my axe, but was immediately seized, deprived of my weapon, and dragged into the kraal. There they scrutinized my dress, and began

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to discuss the question, to what nation I belonged. From what I could understand, the majority were of opinion, that I was a Watadulihao, (man-eater,) and ought either to be killed, or be closely confined and well treated, lest I should do mischief to their children. I however intimated to them, that I was obliged to pursue my journey, a proposition, to which they did not object, and on the fourth day after my arrival, three men attended me out of the kraal, pointed out to me the direction in which I was to proceed, and suffered me to depart in peace. This happened on the 26th of September; between that day, and the 1st of October, I met with few other kraals of the same nation, passed another mountain, and reached the river Makumbo, which was swollen so much, that I could scarcely distinguish the opposite bank, and I perceived, that huts for several miles extent, were entirely covered with water.

On the 2nd of October, I saw the first Kamtarians. This nation inhabits a district, on the banks of the river Tambo. Their chief means of subsistence are hunting, and breeding of cattle. The men are most of them of a small size; they are of a lighter colour than the three last mentioned nations, whom they surpass in spirit and courage, and, from their superior skill in handling the javelin,

javelin, generally defeat them, although they are not so numerous. Their population is estimated at from six to seven thousand combatants and women; the latter are taller than the men, and are full of spirit and courage; the majority of them are prisoners taken from other nations, and detained here. No girls are brought up by this nation; these are put to death as soon as they are born. They have no priests, although it may be supposed, the nation is not entirely without religion. The oldest man of the village (their places of residence are not called kraals) is wholly the chieftain and judge. Polygamy is permitted; and the first wife, who is in general more respected than the rest, enjoys the right, in case, she does not become pregnant by her husband, of choosing another man, and if she bears him a boy, she becomes his wife. They are exceedingly superstitious; if, for instance, one of the nation is wounded, or killed by a wild beast, in the day-time, they say, that he had offended the great goddess; and if it happens by night, especially when the moon shines, they are satisfied, that he has offended the little goddess, and has thus been punished for his misconduct. In dark hazy weather, they lie in their huts, in a state of absolute inactivity and sloth, and the women perform only such work as is absolute necessary. If a woman dies in child-

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birth,

birth, (which however happens very seldom) she is buried in a separate place, and her family is obliged to pass six months, at a distance from the village, in separate huts, without holding the smallest intercourse with the rest of the tribe. If a woman be delivered of a boy, in dark hazy weather, or when the moon does not shine, it is concluded that his father has offended the gods, and the boy is not deemed worthy of being a true member of the nation; consequently, when he grows up, he is kept to menial labours, such as cutting wood, looking after the cattle, and such things. Neither circumcision, nor any similar custom is known to this nation. The dead are usually interred by their relations, under trees. On the day of interment, a fire is kindled, to burn the effects of the deceased, and the ashes are thrown into his grave. The fire is kept in, until the next full moon. He who steals from other tribes, a wife or a girl, may keep her for his wife, or sell her, in which latter case, he generally gets in exchange, a sheep, or from four to six hassagays, according as she is more or less handsome. Strangers are treated with hospitality and kindness.

A variety of opinions prevail, in respect to the origin of this nation. Some assert, that they are descended from prince Nampagango, a tyrannical ruler,

ruler, who drove them out of his dominions, in consequence of which, they applied to the king of Brigudis for protection, and by means of his assistance, put their tyrant to death. Others maintain, that they owe their origin to Congo, but were expelled from that country. This latter opinion, however, is confuted, by the idiom of their language. I have not recognized a single word, which is in use in Congo; as a proof of this, I shall mention a few words, especially the numbers, in which a great many nations approach each other the nearest, but which are widely different, in the present instance, i. e.

*In Kantarria.**In Congo.*

Töhná, one.	Alag, one.
Silká, two.	Mazay, two.
Seháfe, three.	Karij, three.
Kutóy, four.	Prigo, four.
Jahi, five.	Abjet, five.
Mihita, six.	Wuifu, six.
Jahiau, seven.	Emgui seven.
Ajada, eight.	Mahzo, eight.
Lujah, nine.	Benjoo, nine.
Tahfa, ten.	Nades, ten.
Jahkaro, father.	Akalajah, father.
Mohara, mother.	Eguanda, mother.

*In Kamtarria.**In Congo.*

Jujuh, good.

Kalrah, good.

Bryito, wicked.

Luharahje, wicked.

Adulo, to steal.

Pallakah, to steal.

In the dialect of Congo, the letter O, is pronounced at the end of words, like U. The Kamtarrians pronounce the J, as ie.

CHAP. VI.

Account of the warlike Customs of the Kamtarrians.—

Departure for the Kingdom of Biri—Arrival at Buhagari, the first Town in that Kingdom—National peculiarities and mode of living of the Inhabitants—The Author meets with a kind reception—Prosecution of his Journey on the Banks of the River Makumbo—Character of the Gohawarians—Description of the Kingdom of Mataman—National Character, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants—Journey to the Chief-Town (Scenhofa)—The Author is admitted into the Retinue of the King, effects his Escape, as he is in Danger of being sold for a Slave; receives a Wound in his Flight; an Inflammation takes place in his Foot, which is increased by cruel Treatment from two Inhabitants of Drosah; is cured by another Inhabitant.

WHEN I arrived at the huts, at first I saw few people, but a crowd soon gathered around me, who seemed to express joy, for they were dancing and singing. Having intimated to them by signs that I was hungry and thirsty, they brought me a handful of millet-meal and some

four milk. I was going to drink the milk, but one of the by-standers took the vessel out of my hand, put the flour into the milk, stirred it with a bone, which supplied the place of a spoon, and returned it. At first I did not like this dish, but was obliged to swallow it, for want of something better. I wished to pursue my journey, but as they would not suffer me to depart, they assigned me an empty hut to lodge in, and gave me a buffalo-hide for a covering. The next morning they brought meat and four milk, and again invited me to remain with them. Most of the inhabitants of both sexes marched against their enemies, the Muhotians, to give them battle (otako.) The troop consisted of four hundred persons, and I saw with pleasure that they observed more order than I had reason to expect. The Wooliha (the chief) made a speech, which was succeeded by a war-song, at the close of which the troop, formed four deep, began to move. The tallest and strongest men marched in the front, and were followed by those of a smaller size. They were all armed with javelins and battle-axes, three feet in length, and made entirely of hard wood; then the women followed, and the youth of both sexes, armed with battle-axes, brought up the rear. I remained behind in the care of a good old man, who was continually addressing me, without being able to give

give him an answer. He presented me with a new calabash, and wanted my waistcoat in return, which gave me great uneasiness, all my money being sewed up in it. I pretended not to understand him, and he insisted no farther. The village consisted of one hundred and thirty-four huts, of a good construction: it was situated in a fruitful country, well provided with good water, and called Afatchaji.

The third day after the march of the warriors, a song was heard at some distance, which produced universal joy in the village; it was a triumphal hymn, and proclaimed the return of the conquerors, that meat might be immediately roasted, which was accordingly done without the smallest delay. I hastened to meet the victors. They returned in complete order, had had forty wounded and seven killed, and had made sixteen prisoners, five of whom were women. In the center of the village they formed a circle; the chief delivered a speech, at the close of which milk and meat were served up, and merriment and joy appeared in every countenance. The prisoners were also supplied with plenty of provisions, and treated with great kindness. The wounds of the wounded were washed with a certain

tain juice.* After dinner palm-branches were distributed among those who had particularly distinguished themselves in the battle. The female prisoners were assigned to their captors, and from that moment treated like the rest of the women. The male prisoners obtained huts, and were considered as natives of the village. I was not allowed to share in the triumphal feast, but was permitted to assist as a spectator, and received the same portion of meat as the rest.

On the 7th of October, I obtained leave to pursue my journey, and three persons attended me out of the village. At noon I reached a plain, bounded on both sides by villages, which I endeavoured to avoid. In the evening I ascended a mountain, in the kingdom of Biri, on which I passed the night. The next day at noon I arrived at Buhagari, the border-town, which contains about seven hundred huts, and is situated on an arm of the river Makumbo. The inhabitants of this kingdom are not altogether so ferocious as they are described to be by their neighbours: they receive and treat strangers with generosity and kindness. The king enjoys but few preroga-

* The juice of the fruit of a tree, which by the inhabitants is called *ogmatome*, and also *kulanite*.

tives above the chieftains of the villages and towns. The latter are generally governed by two of them, called *monibaja* (judges); they are, however, at the same time priests, instructors of the children, fortune-tellers, and prophets; they alone possess the privilege of wearing mantles, made of tyger and zebra-skins. A mantle of this description is called *algharsa bumkara* (the prophet's dress), and procures to the wearer various marks of respect, e. g. all who meet him are obliged to lay the right hand on their head, the left on their breast, and remain in this posture until he is gone by. If any disputes of consequence take place, the chiefs are bound to inform the king of their nature, and make a full report of the judgment they have passed. In time of war, the chiefs lead the combatants to battle, while the King remains at Buhagari, his usual place of residence, and if this city should be at any time exposed to an attack, he withdraws to Azahhuia, another town, situated on the confines of Kaminaukais, which is under his protection.

The population of this kingdom amounts to about sixteen thousand souls; the country is for the most part fruitful and well cultivated, yet the breeding of cattle forms the principal branch of industry. The inhabitants derive considerable advantages

vantages from a mine of rock-salt, which they exchange for young cattle. The men are fond of hunting, yet do not neglect the cultivation of the soil. They are tall and strong, and wear aprons made of palm-leaves. The women are short and lusty, wear aprons similar to those worn by the men, and cover their breasts with palm-leaves, which they fasten with strings tied behind: they are upon the whole extremely bashful and modest. The colour of this nation is rather yellow than brown. The business of education is conducted with much severity and rigour; the father instructs the boys, and the mother the girls, until they are six years old, at which time they are placed under the instruction of the *Monihaja*. Of their religious principles, and customs, I could learn but very little; I observed, however, that every morning and evening they performed acts of devotion in the open air, and practised circumcision though without any attendant ceremony. No marriage can be contracted without the knowledge of the *Monihaja*; nor is any divorce permitted, but in case of barrenness on the part of the wife. The punishment of adultery consists with respect to the adulterer in the loss of his cattle, and the adulteress is expelled from the community. Polygamy is permitted. The usual articles of food are milk, millet, and flour; the latter is eaten mixed with milk:

milk: meat is rather scarce. The huts are spacious, and of a circular form; the sides are covered with the bark of trees, and the top with reed-grafs.

I met with a kind reception, was supplied with plenty of provisions, and the *Monihaja* entertained me in his hut. Being invited to remain here for some time, I readily accepted the invitation, this being the hottest of the year. I witnessed the manner of gathering in their harvest, which was conducted rather slowly, but in good order. The day before the harvest began, all the magazines* were searched, and the grain that was found there was distributed among the inhabitants.† On the first day of harvest all the reapers assembled in one place, offered up their prayers, and then marched in procession, headed by the *Monihaja*, to the field, where the ears of the corn were cut off, and immediately threshed on hides. This was done with a kind of roller moved backwards and forwards. The grain freed from the chaff was carried into the magazines, and the straw burnt. In a few days the harvest-feast was celebrated; it lasted two

* These are a kind of cellars, which belong in common to all the inhabitants.

† Two children received as much as one adult.

days,

days, and the third was a fast-day. The inhabitants assembled before the hut of the Monihaja, every one carrying a palm-branch; and went from thence in procession round the village, kindled a fire, sat down around it and smoked tobacco. They cultivate barley, millet, and Indian corn. I continued here twelve days, and was treated with great hospitality; they even supplied me with provisions for the continuance of my journey, which I pursued on the 21st of October on the banks of the river Matumbo.

About noon I reached the village Amahkai, consisting of about forty huts; here I was well received and supplied with food and drink. I now shaped my route to the north-east to avoid a large mountain which lay before me, and arrived at a lake, where I was obliged to stop. I kindled a fire and endeavoured to catch some fish: I had gathered some mussels, when suddenly I heard a voice, crying "*Dohababako Nothiaofer laba,*" (stranger, keep away from the lake) and turning about saw three men approaching, who cautioned me with gestures to beware of the lake, as it was very deep, and in that season contained fish pernicious to the health. They invited me to follow them, which I did. After an hour's walk, we entered a village, consisting of about sixty huts. I wondered

wondered that my presence attracted so little notice from the inhabitants, who, it should seem, wished me to believe that they had seen many white people.

On the 22nd I travelled over a mountain at some distance from the afore-mentioned river, on which I found a great number of fruit-trees, and especially of plum-trees.

There are many wild beasts here: tygers and lions passed me, without shewing any disposition to attack me; this I ascribed to their having plenty of food, as the whole tract of country abounds with gazelles. The above-mentioned ridge of mountains is of great length, extending from the north-east to the west, through the kingdoms of Matamba and Biri. I was obliged to pass the night on them, but met with no interruption from any wild animal.

About eight o'clock on the following morning, I had passed beyond those mountains, and found myself again on the banks of the above-mentioned river, where I saw some villages to my right, and likewise before me. Being extremely thirsty, and the plums, of which I had eaten a few during the preceding night, having again caused a violent
pain

pain in my bowels, I hastened to the nearest village, and fortunately found its inhabitants compassionate and humane. I begged of them, by means of signs and gestures, to give a sick man leave to remain there a few hours. They not only granted my request; but two of their women brought me some new milk, and a piece of a certain root, which they desired me to chew. I then lay down on the grass, and soon fell a sleep.—When I awoke I found myself covered with some buffalo-hides, and in a profuse sweat, for it now appeared, that the root which I had chewed, was, a powerful sudorific. When I got up I felt myself quite restored; I staid, however, all night at the village, and learned that it was called Muiha.

On the following day, I proceeded to within a short distance of the Satamaha, a large ravine near the borders, without seeing a single village. A tall robust man came up to me, and asked me, whither I was going? I answered, To my native country. He advised me to leave that road, as it was not safe, and to go with him. On my inquiring to what country he belonged, he said, that he was a Gohawavan, and that the borders of his country were not more than a quarter of a day's journey distant. I agreed to accompany him, and

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we soon arrived at Zahmago, the first village beyond the border. Here likewise every one was curious to see me; my dress especially excited much attention. Some seemed to take me for a white slave, and shewed an inclination to employ me as such. But when they found that I did not understand their language, nor they mine, they took me for an Oriental; as I had intimated to them by signs. They, therefore, behaved very friendly to me, as they themselves derive their origin from the Orientals. This nation is very poor, as they neither breed cattle, nor cultivate the soil, but subsist entirely by hunting, and receive corn from the Birians, in exchange for the skins of the animals which they kill. They here obtain, by pressure from a kind of plums, a liquor which tastes exceedingly well, when mixed with water. The number of inhabitants in the whole state does not now exceed seven thousand five hundred. This nation is said to have been formerly very powerful, but by incessant wars they so weakened themselves, that they were driven from their ancient territory, situated, as they themselves say, in a most fertile tract of country under the line. The King of Biri took compassion on them, gave them an asylum in his kingdom. They have become more peaceable, and have adopted the laws, manners and customs of the Birians,

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with

with whom they are closely allied by frequent marriages. They are distinguished however from the Birians by their superior strength of body, and tallness of stature; by their flat noses and large eyes, and by the custom of wearing rings of the teeth of animals in their noses. Although they are poor, they entertain every stranger twenty-four hours: but unfortunately they are too much addicted to theft; for instance, immediately after my arrival in the village, a stout young fellow took my hatchet out of my hand, and ran off with it. Others, taking a fancy for the buttons on my waistcoat, attempted to pull them off; and to prevent them from stripping me of the waistcoat itself, and with it of all my money, I cut off four of the buttons, and presented them to the chief, who protected me against any further attacks.

On the following morning I requested the chief, in whose hut I had slept, to grant me a safe conduct through his territory: but probably he did not understand me, as he only pointed to the tract through which my route lay. I therefore proceeded alone; and soon came to a thicket; here I sat down, and cut off all the remaining buttons from my waistcoat, that I might travel with more security in future, by thus removing every thing that might tempt the natives to ill treat me.

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After an hour's walk I arrived at a village; which was situated on the side of a hill, and consisted of seventy huts. I entered it for the purpose of filling my calabash with water, and fortunately made myself understood by the inhabitants, as one of them comprehended several of my words. When I requested some water, they conducted me to the well, and brought me a stick, to which was fastened the half of an excavated gourd, with which I drew up some water, and filled my calabash.— Though numbers of the inhabitants flocked round me, from motives of curiosity, yet I was permitted to pursue my journey without molestation. I now had to climb, with much danger and difficulty, over a rocky chain of mountains, which stretched towards the north: and with fatigue, after a journey of three leagues, arrived at Bajaka, almost fainting with thirst and heat. Here, after I had refreshed myself with food and drink, I laid down by the side of a hut, and slept all night in the open air, without any covering; in consequence of which I was afflicted with a violent catarrh and cough.

On the 26th and 27th the road was again very bad, and rugged; and I found only one village, consisting of seventeen huts.

On the 28th and 29th I travelled a plain, in which I here and there found bushes and clumps of trees. On the latter day, I was obliged to take refuge in one of the trees, being pursued by six wild dogs. After remaining there some hours, I ventured to set forward again; but proceeded with great difficulty and pain, having neither provisions nor water, and being obliged to subsist entirely on roots and leaves.

On the 30th, I entered a valley, and soon after arrived at the borders of the kingdom of Mataman, which is bounded by the river Sohmoh. This river runs through the valley; it is in general not more than eight or nine feet wide, but in winter it frequently swells to such a degree, as to overflow the whole valley, which is two miles in breadth. This kingdom is mountainous: there are, however, many fruitful vallies, most beautiful meadows, and an abundance of fruit trees; but the natives are too indolent to improve what the bountiful hand of nature has bestowed upon them.

The King of this country governs with unlimited power: he is styled *Sobanwah* (the elected by the gods); the office is hereditary, and in failure of male issue, even females inherit it. When a female

male succeeds to the throne, she is allowed to choose one of her subjects for a husband, who governs conjointly with her. The elders or chief men of the land, however, previously examine whether he is properly qualified. The King of this country is at the same time high-priest and augur, and likewise chief instructor of youth. His decisions are respected and obeyed, even when he decides unjustly. He alone enjoys the privilege of having more than one wife; and appoints the subordinate judges and priests, &c. He never takes the field in person, but commits the command of his troops to another. The soldiers are brave, and particularly expert in the use of the bow: I was told, that the King could raise an army of thirty thousand men. In the whole kingdom there are only three large towns, of which Seen-hofa, the residence of the King, and distant two days journey from that part of the borders where I entered the country, contains the greatest number of inhabitants. The King appoints in every town and village a chief, who is called the Mohwoia, and who at the same time executes the office of priest: but the Mohwoia cannot decide by his own authority, but must make a report to the King on all matters of importance. With respect to their religious rites, this nation has some things in common with the Mahometans, as, for instance,

circumcision, with certain concomitant ceremonies. Their meetings for the performance of religious worship are held in the morning in the open air, at a place which the priest chooses. Their form of worship is very simple: the congregation forms a ring, and the priest, standing in the centre, addresses a discourse to them. Matrimonial contracts are concluded here, as among the Southern Caffres, without any religious ceremonies. The men love and esteem their wives, and therefore do not overwhelm them with excessive drudgery, but take upon themselves many of those laborious employments, which among others of the African tribes are assigned to the women. Till about their fourth year, the children are wholly under the care of their parents; but after that period, the boys are instructed by the Mohwoia, and the girls by his wife.

Their dress consists of aprons, which reach down to the knee. These aprons are made of palm leaves. The men twist their hair round pieces of bone, generally the ribs of sheep; and I have seen some who had six or eight such ornaments on their heads. The women tie their hair with slips of leather, and many of them have no less than six of these hanging over the face. They have only one principal

cipal meal in a day, namely, after sun-set ; at other times of the day they occasionally eat some millet and corn with sour milk. From their extreme indolence, these people are often in want of provisions ; for they will rather endure hunger for a few days than use any extraordinary exertion to procure food. Salt is seldom to be met with in this country : they procure it from Mazumbo, in exchange for skins ; but sometimes are for years without a requisite supply, when they happen to be at war with the inhabitants of that kingdom. When no other can be obtained, some of them use a bad kind of salt, obtained by burning the bones of animals.

When I arrived at the first village in the Mataman territory, I was immediately taken to the hut of the Mohwoia, from whom I received some milk and a handful of barley. When I had eaten this, the man, who had conducted me to the village, likewise brought me some milk and barley : this displeased the Mohwoia, and a violent dispute arose between them, which however was not attended with any bad consequences. The Mohwoia contended, that he alone had the right to entertain me, because he was the chief ; the other, on the contrary, asserted that he was entitled to

that privilege, as he had brought me with him to the village.

On the following day I set out for Seenhofa, with the intention to pay my respects to the King; the Mohwoia ordered some of the men of the village to put me into the right road, and gave me a calabash of water and a handful of meal to take with me. Till towards noon I had to march over steep mountains, and found most beautiful meadows in the interjacent valleys. I passed the village Yeauhon, and arrived about mid-day at the village Kafoho, consisting of about forty neat well-built huts. I repaired to the Mohwoia's, and was supplied with some meal and water. The road now led through a very fruitful valley, in which, besides other trees, I met with a number of trees bearing a sort of apples. I ate some of the fruit, and resolved to pass the night under one of the trees: but a herd of buffaloes paying me an unwelcome visit, I was obliged to take refuge among the branches. At break of day the buffaloes left me at liberty to pursue my journey, and I soon afterwards arrived

* I found in the sequel, that the Mohwoia was in the right; as, according to the laws of the country, he must receive and entertain strangers, and is allowed to take corn for their use out of the corn magazine, of which he has the superintendence.

at a village called Okohama, where however I did not stop, but proceeded with all possible speed toward Seenhofa. As I approached nearer that capital, I passed through several fruitful vallies, abounding with fruit trees; and at length came to an aqueduct, which conducted water to the town from a distance of half a German mile. On the side of this aqueduct I now proceeded, and reached the town before sun-set. I immediately went to the Mohwoia's, who gave me some barley and four milk, and then conducted me to a hut adjoining his own, where I slept without being disturbed, the Mohwoia having carefully fastened the door.

My wish to see the King was soon gratified: for early in the morning the Mohwoia came into my hut, and winked me to follow him. He conducted me through a long street, with huts on both sides, to a grass-plot, where a number of men formed a circle, in the centre of which I saw the Sohaawoia (or King). He appeared to be about forty years of age, was seated upon a round block of wood, and held his battle-axe in his hand. I had on the preceding day taken out four guilders from between the lining of my waistcoat for the purpose of presenting them to the King; and with these in my hand, I entered the ring. His Majesty enquired of me (through the medium of one of the
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by-standers, who seemed to have undertaken the office of interpreter), whence I had come, whither I was going, and why I visited his dominions. I had much difficulty to understand these questions : but the interpreter was still more puzzled to comprehend my answers ; for he had but a very slight knowledge of the Caffrarian language. Having explained to the King what I had answered, he was ordered to ask me whether I were a Moor or a Christian. I answered that I was an Arab ; for I supposed that they were not acquainted with that name. I now presented the four guilders to the King, and requested him to grant me a supply of the necessaries of life. He viewed the money for some time, and then ordered one of his wives to fetch some meal and milk. She immediately obeyed ; and I sat down on the ground to eat the mixture which she prepared for me. I then accompanied his Majesty to his hut, where a mat was given me to sit on. He now examined me with greater attention, and bade the interpreter tell me that, if I gave him more pieces of money, he would retain me here and appoint me a Kayseeto, *i. e.* a servant. I protested that I had not a single piece of money left ; but his offer I accepted with pleasure, hoping thereby to acquire an accurate knowledge of the language, laws, and customs of the country. But in the course of a few days, I found that

that they considered me as no better than a common slave, and that I was in danger of being, sooner or later, bartered or sold to some other nation*. I was plentifully supplied with provisions; but I was not satisfied with the behaviour of the King towards me in other respects. The royal household consisted only of his wife and children, and of a few servants, all of whom lodged in separate huts. The King being very jealous, I was not allowed to go near the women, but usually attended him in his own hut, or when he went to the chase. The latter part of my employment was sometimes very laborious, for I was obliged to carry home the game which we killed. But, fortunately for me, the King never went a hunting except when his stock of provisions happened to be exhausted; for, whilst a sufficiency remained, his Majesty, as well as the greater part of his sub-

* When the Europeans discovered the coasts of Africa, they perhaps learned the slave-trade from the natives; for among all the African nations which I visited, the Southern Caffres excepted, the practice of selling human beings exists; and in the course of a few years the slaves often pass through the hands of several nations; as, for instance, the Matamanians barter them away for salt to the Muzumbonians, and the Muzumbonians for grain to the inhabitants of Congo; and thus they are transferred from one master to the other, till at length they come into the possession of the Europeans.

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jects, gave himself up to indolence and sleep; which was likewise disagreeable to me, for whilst he slept I was obliged to remain quite still in the hut. My daily fare consisted of about a pound of meal or corn, and a quart of four milk; but when I was allowed flesh meat, my usual portion of meal was not given me. The King was a man of middling stature and good appearance; he had six wives and fourteen children. His son resided in the eastern division of the town, being appointed Mohwoia there. The King one day took me with him to the habitation of this son, and shewed me to his two children, girls of the age of seven and nine. The girls began to skip round me, and exclaimed, *Yano Kolo!* i. e. a beautiful White! But their mother having expressed the same favourable opinion of me, the Mohwoia became jealous, and spoke for a considerable time to his father concerning me. The others having left the hut, the eldest daughter endeavoured to explain to me what had been determined upon during this conversation; which was to this effect, that as they feared lest I should attempt to seduce the wives of the King and his son, they purposed to sell me to another nation. In consequence of this intelligence, I resolved to make my escape, if I should be refused permission to depart.

On the following day I requested the king to permit me to continue my journey to my own country, but he told me that I must wait here a few days longer, and then might travel in company with some of his subjects, who intended to carry some commodities to barter with a neighbouring nation. I well knew that I myself was one of the commodities which they meant to barter away, and therefore eagerly looked for an opportunity to make my escape; and a favourable one occurred on the 29th of November. On that day I attended my master to the chace, carrying a calabash full of water, some millet in a leathern bag, and a spear;* but was ordered not to quit him so often, nor go to such a distance from him as I had been accustomed to do, but to be at hand, ready to assist him with the spear, in case of danger. We proceeded towards a beautiful wood, situated to the west of the town. As soon as we had entered this wood, I pretended that I had been seized with a violent pain in my bowels, and sat down on the ground.

* The head of this spear was two inches in breadth, a foot long, and an inch thick, and fastened with thongs to a pole. Hunters generally carry such spears, to defend themselves in case they should be attacked by wild beasts, especially such as have been rendered more ferocious by wounds. They are likewise used in war; and then the points of them are poisoned.

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My master believing me to be really ill, gave me leave to remain there till he should call me, took his spear and went on. The moment I had left sight of him I sprang up and turned to the north, endeavouring to reach some mountains in that direction. Though the heat was excessive, and I was extremely tormented by thirst, I exerted all my strength, and ran as fast as I possibly could, not even stopping to take a draught of water from the calabash. In three hours I reached the banks of a river, called, as I afterwards learned, the *Cayetho*, i. e. "Sweet River." Fortunately for me this river was not deep, and I could ford it without danger; but in my hurry I struck my foot with such violence against a sharp stone in the water, that I fell down, and should certainly have been drowned, had the current of the river been more rapid. Fortunately, however, I was able to get up again, and reached the opposite bank in safety. I immediately continued my flight, and altho' I saw villages to the right and the left of me, I carefully avoided them, and luckily none of the inhabitants saw me. Towards evening I reached a wood, where I was forced to stop, the wound in my foot having become excessively painful. I slept little, and in the morning was scarcely able to put my foot to the ground; therefore, as I had some millet left, I resolved to remain where I was, and applied some
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green leaves to the wound, which somewhat alleviated the pain.

On the first of December I limped slowly on, and at noon reached the town called Drosah. This town has four streets, and consists of about two hundred and fifty huts, lying in the form of a half-moon. There is a great deal of good pasture-ground in the neighbourhood. I enquired for the Mohwoia, and was immediately conducted to him; he behaved in a very friendly manner towards me, especially after I had made him a present of three guilders; but when he observed the hurt in my foot, he refused me admission into his hut, from an apprehension that he might catch a similar hurt. No one would now receive me: at last, however, an old man, who, probably, was free from this ridiculous prejudice, took pity on me, and led me to his hut, where he gave me some milk; after which he fetched some green leaves, bruised them with a stone, and applied them to my foot. On the following morning the pain had abated, and therefore as I was afraid of being pursued, I took leave of the hospitable old man, giving him a guilder in return for the kindness he had shewn me. I proceeded in a north-easterly direction, and about noon arrived at a village called Akilah, but stopped there only a few hours, as the inhabitants

inhabitants seemed inclined to detain and make a slave of me; but perhaps my ragged dress, the hurt in my foot, and my long beard, deterred them. Having obtained a little milk from one of them, I continued my journey. About an hour's walk from the village, at a narrow pass between the mountains, three stout men ran towards me, and put several questions to me, most of which I understood, namely, whence I came, whither I was going, and to what country I belonged? I answered, that I was a native of the west, and was travelling towards my own country: but that did not hinder them from putting many other questions to me; and, as I did not understand their queries, and therefore could return no answer, two of them laid hold of me by the arms, whilst the third took my calabash, and led me to a place where they had killed a young wolf, which they ordered me to take upon my shoulders and carry after them. I hesitated, and shewed them the hurt in my foot, but in vain, for one of them gave me some blows with a spear, and threatened to run me through if I would not carry the carcase of the wolf. I took it upon my back and followed them, but slowly; they therefore pushed me on by repeated blows. The great heat, fatigue and pain, so overpowered me, that I several times sunk under my load. I implored them to have pity on me;

me ; but their hearts being steeled against all my entreaties, they beat me till I again got up. At last I arrived, half dead with pain and fatigue, at the village which I had left a few hours before. When I had deposited my load, my cruel tormentors bid me be gone. Not being able to walk, I sat down by the side of their hut to rest myself ; but even this indulgence was denied me. I therefore crawled along as well as I could, till I came to the hut where I had received some milk at noon. The owner of it happened to be looking out at the door, and I begged of him to take pity on me. He asked me, what hindered me from walking ; and when I shewed him the hurt in my foot, he expressed his willingness to assist me. Perceiving that my whole body was covered with blood, part of which, however, had flowed down my waistcoat, from the carcase of the wolf, he became still kinder, and even expressed by his gestures how much he was incensed against those who had treated me with such cruelty. He spread out a sheep-skin before the hut, and bade me sit down on it ; he then looked at my foot, and immediately spoke to a girl, who soon returned with several kinds of leaves, which he carefully examined, and then applied to my foot. I then received some meal and milk, and was in every respect treated as if I had been a native of the country. A couch was

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prepared

prepared for me in the hut, and some skins were given me to cover myself. At first I was not able to sleep, partly on account of the pain which I suffered, and partly through suspicion, as I did not yet altogether trust my host. But my suspicions of his integrity were quite erroneous; for he was a truly benevolent philanthropist, as his subsequent behaviour clearly proved. At dawn of day he arose and asked, whether the pain had abated? On my answering in the negative, he seemed surprized, because he had supposed the leaves would operate stronger. He now bid me come before the hut. I crawled out; he looked at the sore, and was much terrified at the sight, as it was worse. He sent, however, without hesitation, for another kind of leaves, resembling those of our willows, bruised them on a stone, and made them up with grease into salve, with which he rubbed my leg with so much violence, that I had nearly lost my senses; he then tied a thong or strap around the swollen part and bade me lay down. I did so, and the pain growing less violent, I fell asleep. When I awoke in the evening, I found that my foot had been wrapped up in palm-leaves, and that the pain had abated very much. Full eight days elapsed, however, before I could put my foot to the ground. During this time a man came into the hut, whom my host acquainted with the circumstances

circumstances of my case, and in particular with the ill-treatment I had experienced from some of the inhabitants, at which he expressed great indignation. When he had left the hut, I learned that he was the Mohwoia, son-in-law of my benefactor, and that he promised to punish these cruel wretches. On the tenth day I intended to depart, but my benefactor's wife having been delivered of a boy, I was obliged to stay till the next day, to assist at a festival, celebrated on that occasion. On my departure I was presented with some provision for my journey. Having passed through three villages, I reached, in the evening, the boundaries of the Seegerines, where I staid the night in the village of Mukofah, seated on a hill.

CHAP. VII.

History of the Seegerines—National Character of that People—The Author arrives in the first Village of the Seegerines, called Mukosab—On the Slave Trade—Account of a Tyger Hunt—Prosecution of the Journey—The Author is carried, as a Prisoner, into the Province of Porguhomat (called in the Map Osila) but well treated—History and Description of that Nation—The Author is ordered, in Company with other Men, to march to the Frontiers, to attack an hostile Trader in Slaves, with a large Transport of Negroes, but being taken Prisoner, and labouring under great Troubles and Difficulties, is conducted to the Sovians—Description of this Nation, which bears a close Resemblance to the Inhabitants of Angola—Difference in point of Language—The Author is made a Cowherd in the Service of the Mani—The fourth Wife of the Mani entertains an illicit Passion for him—He escapes from her by Flight to Angola—Account of that Kingdom, its History, Boundaries, and Produce—On the King, the Political Constitution, Religion, Manners, Customs, and National Dress—The Author is robbed by an Evanga (fudge) of his Money and Journal, and is in the most imminent Danger of losing his Life, but

but is liberated through the King's Justice, and Humanity—Description of the Town of Mahakah, the Residence of the King on the River Coanza.

THE Seegerines are a poor and lazy people, who live almost entirely by hunting. They were formerly a powerful nation, and possessed a vast empire; but in consequence of the numerous wars in which they were engaged with their neighbours, they lost by far the greatest part of their possessions. Their territory is at present about two days journey in length, and half a day's journey in breadth; the population of the country exceeds not eight thousand inhabitants, and they live in miserable huts, each composed of four poles or stakes, and covered with reed grass. The villages in general consist of ten or twelve huts. The colour of the Seegerines is of a reddish cast, somewhat tinged with brown. They are small in size, and wear no other dress than a small apron: their hair is short and curled, and they have flat noses. They enjoy the reputation of being good marksmen, and bear an excellent character for hospitality, but are justly censured for the vicious habit, which is sanctioned by their laws, of robbing well dressed strangers of their cloaths. This nation has no king, but is governed by a chief, called Koojahmah. They procure their

salt from a mountain, situated to the westward, and exchange part of it for the produce of neighbouring districts. The prisoners whom they take, especially from the Malamans, with whom they are frequently at war, are exchanged for other commodities, and fall at last into the hands of the slave merchants on the coast of Congo.

I shall here say a few words on the slave-trade. The dealers in slaves are Moors, who make incursions as far as the desert of Sahara, steal children and young persons in the interior of Africa, and give them to the chiefs of towns in exchange for cattle, guns, gunpowder, and lead. The chiefs collect these unfortunate people, and sell them in couples, of from twenty to sixty head, to the Portuguese, French, and English, on the coast, on their way to which, they are frequently obliged to travel on foot ten, or perhaps twenty days, and are used worse than cattle. Had not the inhabitants of these countries got acquainted with Europeans and their wares, the slave-trade could never have taken place. The friends of mankind are justly filled with horror at the barbarous treatment which the unfortunate slaves experience from these Christian cannibals. In how many countries has the religion of Christ been shamefully misused, for the purpose of oppression; and,
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by affliging free-born men to a station as it were between men and brutes, been made the abominable instrument of acquiring power, and amassing wealth. We are not therefore to wonder, that in countries where, for this very purpose, the religion of Christ was forced upon the inhabitants with fire and sword, could gain no ground, and that the name of a Christian became the watch-word of persecution.

But to return to my journey. On my arrival in the village of the Seegerines, they assembled around me, and conducted me to the chief. By him I was refreshed with water, mixed with the juice of plums, and bade to sit down. Unacquainted with their language, I endeavoured to express by signs from whence I came, and whither I was going. On my pointing to the region, towards which I intended to travel, they made a variety of gestures, from which I had reason to infer, that they wished to dissuade me from proceeding thither.

The next day I collected what information I was able to obtain as to the neighbouring country, and in the afternoon went on a hunting party, in company with four men of the village. The first game

they saw was a tyger, which they resolved immediately to pursue, laughing at the fear which I expressed on this occasion. They actually succeeded in killing the tyger, without receiving the least injury themselves. While two men were throwing javelins at him, the next stood by them, holding in their right hand a spear, and in the left a piece of buffalo or elephant's hide, that they might be able to defend themselves, in case that the tyger should not be mortally wounded and attack them. This was here really the case; he tried to seize the foreman by the throat, but this man, undismayed by the rage of the ferocious animal, thrust his hand, wrapped up in leather, into his throat,* and thus prevented him from biting: he at the same time pierced him with the spear he held in his right hand, and the tyger was soon killed by the other three.

On the 15th of December I pursued my journey through a valley, where I found a spring of water, of a yellowish colour and acrid taste.* I passed by three villages, but stopped in the fourth, called

* Probably vitriolated water, impregnated with ferruginous particles.

Aimahto, where I rested an hour under a fine matahora-tree,* and was closely viewed by the inhabitants. One of them presented me with a piece of wolf's flesh, which I loathed at first, but having tried it at last, from want of other food, I must confess that it tasted better than buffalo flesh. Six miles from this village I met, in the prosecution of my journey, in a small wood, with an immense number of turtles, which tempted my appetite. I resolved accordingly to stop there for the night, kindled a fire, and prepared an excellent supper of a roasted turtle; but ate so much that I did not sleep till towards morning. I had scarcely rested an hour, when feeling something move at my feet, I started, and saw a snake, three ells in length, and a foot thick,† which devoured the remains of my meat. Struck with terror and dismay, I sprung up and ran to a considerable distance. When I recovered the use of my senses, I missed my calabash, and was of course obliged to

* The leaves are narrow yet long, the branches bent downwards, and the blossoms of a red cast. The fruit is of the size of a large pea, round, and yields flour of a fine flavour; of this they make cakes, which are not inferior in taste to our best biscuits.

† This species of snakes, whose thickness bears no proportion to their length, is, I believe, unknown to naturalists.

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return : I found it at the place where I had slept, but the snake had disappeared. On quitting the wood, I entered a fine plain, in which the village of Ogtih is situated, consisting of about thirty huts. Unwilling to stop in this village, I was walking straight through it, without asking for provision ; but one of the inhabitants gave me a tortoise-shell with water and the juice of plums, which I emptied, and went on without being in the least detained. I then came again to a small dale, washed by a small river, whose water was not drinkable ; yet it supplied me with some fine muscles, of which I made a comfortable meal, and reached in the evening a chain of rocky mountains, which formed the boundary of the country, and where I passed the night.

Early in the morning I heard the sound of human voices, and soon saw about twenty armed men, who escorted a troop of prisoners, coupled together two and two. One of the former seized and conducted me to the commander of the escort, who, after some consideration, tied my hands with a strap, and bid me follow him. Until noon our road lay over mountains ; the armed men were rough and noisy, but the prisoners appeared mournful and dejected. At noon we reached the large village of Euojaha, where we halted and received water.

water. This was the first village in the province of Porguhoma, called Ofila in the maps. Our guard belonged to this nation, and lived some miles farther northwards. The province of Porguhomat is about a four days journey distant from the frontiers of Congo; it possesses a fruitful soil, and supplies the inhabitants with a variety of productions in great abundance. They are a warlike nation, and defend their possession with great spirit. Some told me that the nation was able to send from eighteen to twenty thousand men into the field; but this, I think, is a palpable exaggeration, for the country is but thinly peopled. In former times this country was subjected to the kings of Bengula, who drew from it their best and most valiant soldiers, but frequently requited their service with ingratitude and wanton cruelty

King Khiguan having rendered himself guilty of a similar conduct, the nation raised, in the year 1776, the standard of revolt, put the King to death, and rendered itself nearly independent. Although the son of the murdered King was placed on the throne, yet he is bound to act with and by the advice of the elders, who form his privy council. This nation has many customs in common with the neighbouring tribes; but some are also found here, which are peculiar to their country.

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From the small number of women, the men have frequently but one wife, yet never quarrel about the right of enjoying their joint property. The women are respected, and less rudely treated, than in other parts of Africa. The men apply themselves also to the management of household affairs, take care of the cattle, and transact other domestic business while the women dress the victuals, clean matahora, or convert it into flour and grits.

In point of language and dress, this nation perfectly agrees with the inhabitants of the coast of Congo. Boys are circumcised the day after their birth, and held in higher estimation than girls. I have seen mothers surrounded by twelve, nay, eighteen male children, and respected by them. Upon the whole, I am much pleased with the mode of education which prevails in this province. A child, as soon as it can talk, enjoys the instruction of its grandfather, or, if he should be dead, of its father, who acquaints it with such plants and fruit as are fit for food, and points out those which are noxious and pernicious to health. It is also taught to weave mats of reed-grass; and, as it grows older, to assist in a variety of household-work; the boys, in particular, are made to apply themselves to hunting, and thereby acquire

acquire agility and courage. He who kills an elephant is no longer classed among boys but men.

Though all strangers, not engaged in any branch of traffick with the nation, are considered as slaves, yet they are treated with great kindness, and not sold; for they detest the slave-trade, and make it their business by main force to wrest from other nations such slaves as are destined for sale. Prisoners of war experience also a kind treatment, and if they wish it, are incorporated with the nation.

I was at length carried into the village of Sol-taho, the place of residence of the nominal King, and delivered to that petty sovereign with many ceremonies. He received me kindly, and ordered my hands to be untied, to be regaled with a piece of elephant flesh roasted, and conducted me into a small hut. The rest of the prisoners were also distributed, and met all of them with a kind reception.

Unacquainted with the language of the country, I was not able to learn what would be my future fate, yet felt no uneasiness on this point, as I enjoyed a preference to the rest of the prisoners. While the latter were obliged to work in the field, to cut wood and the like, I was employed

ployed in fetching, cleaning, drying and bruising *mutabora*.

After having been a month in this village, I observed that they began to treat me with more coolness. As far as I could discover the cause of this change, it consisted in the supposition, that I was a *mambuaja* (Portuguese); yet I continued to enjoy liberty and advantages in preference to the rest of the prisoners; nay, they assured me, that I should constantly be better treated than their countrymen were used by the Portuguese.

I endeavoured as much as possible to convince the *Buliba* (King) that I was no Portuguese, but an *achkahrey* (a native of the east country), and that my nation was at war with the Portuguese. My endeavours proved successful; I obtained permission to sleep in the King's own hut, and was presented with a fine sheep-skin.

By way of amusement, I made a potter's dish for the women, who used to form their earthenware in their hands, in a manner as troublesome as it was awkward; I also constructed a small oven, and shewed them that meat was roasted there much better in pans than over coals. On account of these and other things, I was much respected

respected by the nation, but was nevertheless frequently obliged to go to rest very hungry, because the people live here in a very frugal manner, and consume but little food.

Having lived here several months, I at last fell into the hands of another people, the Sovians,* through a peculiar accident, which I shall relate in a few words.

On the 7th of June 1785. two slaves arrived in the village where I resided, who had escaped from a troop of slaves, escorted by a strong body of Sovians on their way to Bengula. These slaves deposed that, on the 19th, the above troops, consisting of thirty slaves, would pass close by the frontiers of Porguhomat, in consequence of which advice, preparations were immediately made in the village, to disperse the escort or take them prisoners along with the troop of slaves. I learned at the same time, that although the country of Angola was about an eight days journey distant from their province, yet they were here constantly ready to injure them as well as the Sovians, and to destroy their slave-trade. I had formerly been

* Inhabitants of the kingdom Sova, subjected to the King of Angola.

present at several incursions, made for the mere purpose of defending or protecting the frontiers, but this time I was called upon to assist in surprising the enemy.

We put ourselves in motion on the 17th in the evening, forty-seven in number, half of whom were armed with javelins and hunting-spears, and the rest with battle-axes. We marched the whole night over mountains and through forests, taking our route towards the north-east, and halted the next morning a few hours on a mountain, from whence we proceeded to a village which lay on the declivity thereof, and was called Wakulaho, and belonged to our nation. Being joined here by twenty men we pursued our march, crossed in the evening a small river, marched again the whole night, and saw at break of day a village lying before us. We resolved to search this village, and to collect information relative to the time when the troop of slaves was expected. Two other combatants who had sore feet, and myself, were ordered to remain in our resting place until the rest should return from the village.

Much pleased with this order of our commander, whose name was Kydomoh, we lay down behind a rock and awaited the return of our troop, which
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was expected in the evening; but nobody came. Having waited the whole night in turn, we proceeded the next morning to the village, without either finding our troop, or obtaining the least intelligence whither they had directed their march. Having proceeded a little way farther on we found two roads, both marked with fresh footsteps. Uncertain which road we ought to pursue, agreed at last to separate into two parties, one of us turned to the north-east, while I and another of my companions took the route towards the east.

We had not proceeded far, when we lost all trace of the road; at last, however, we reached the village through which the party must pass, and found there that which had a few hours before taken another road. We requested an old man to give us a night's lodging: he immediately granted our request. A little after midnight we heard a great noise in the village, and believing that our friends were coming back, we hastened out of the hut to shew ourselves to them, but we were grievously mistaken; for it was the enemy, who, having received intelligence of the intended attack upon them, had taken a different route, and arrived here without any opposition. They carried off with them, besides us, some young women belong-

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ing to the village; and continued their march all the following day through woods and over mountains. In the evening we arrived at a village called Brhtyho, which lies in the territory of the Sovians. The captives were all conducted to the Mani, (Judge), who ordered us some four milk and medabahat, (a kind of pear) for supper. The place where we lodged all night was very inconvenient, as about sixty persons were obliged to lie in one hut; and consequently none of us were able to sleep.

In the morning they fastened us together by threes, and marched us farther. The road was extremely bad, and most of us were incapable of proceeding farther, as the wounds in their feet caused them great pain. Although in the evening we saw villages on both sides of the road, yet we were obliged to pass the night in the open air, as they were afraid of being attacked. The villages of this tract of country generally consist of from sixteen to twenty wretched low square huts, which are covered with reed-grass.

After midnight we again decamped and marched till about noon over a large sandy plain. At last we reached a small town, where we were conducted

ducted to a hut adjoining the Mani's: here they took off the thongs with which they had tied us together, and gave us some pease-meal and milk. Many of the captives had their feet so swelled as to be unable to walk. The soles of my feet were likewise covered with blisters, and the feet and legs wounded in several places by thistles. Every one now endeavoured to cure himself as well as he could. Among the natives I observed many who seemed to feel compassion for our sufferings.

This nation agrees in manners, customs, religion, dress, and mode of life with the Angolans: in their language only is there some difference, but not of any importance. Indeed the Angolans, Osilans, and Sovalans speak the same language, but in the Osilan dialect: *l, u, b, g, and w,* are never, or at least very rarely pronounced. The following may serve as an example.

WORDS OF THE OSILANS.

As they are written.	As they are pronounced.	
<i>Engalo</i>	<i>Enalo</i>	a wild boar.
<i>Algagia</i>	<i>Alaia</i>	a zebra cat.
<i>Pongo</i>	<i>Pono</i>	a baboon.
<i>Ouvanda</i>	<i>Ovanda</i>	rice.
<i>Ogheghe</i>	<i>Oie</i>	plums.
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The Sovalans, on the contrary, pronounce these words very harshly, viz. Enggalo, Algaggia, Pongo.

On the 23d all the captives were marched to a green near the town, and there minutely examined whether they were properly qualified to be slaves; and to such as had wounds in their feet, a healing salve was given. The Mani likewise called me, viewed and examined my whole body, and asked me if I were a Christian. I answered in the negative, and pretended to be an Oriental. After the examination was finished, thirty of the captives, among whom were six women and two young girls, were taken to a separate hut; but the others, and myself along with them, were re-conducted to the hut where we had passed the night.

On the third day both divisions were sent off to Mahpangoh; but a young handsome Matamannian and myself, the Mani kept with him. I was appointed cow-herd, but the Matamannian, whom they could not trust out of sight, because they knew him to be acquainted with the country, was employed in cutting wood and making mats. A native of Bengula, who had sold himself to the Mani for his daily subsistence, was my fellow-herdsman. We had seventy sheep and twenty-seven goats under our care; these we drove to the pasture-

pasture-grounds in the day time, but always brought them back in the evening to a hut built on purpose for them; and where we likewise slept.

Every morning each of us received a handful of meal and a pot of milk. But this portion was far from sufficient to satisfy us; and we therefore used privately to milk the goats and ewes. The Mani was of a good-natured humane man; but his six wives were very severe and quarrelsome: his fourth wife, in particular, whose name was Natahar, was very libidinous, and when she came to milk the goats, watched every opportunity of being alone with me; holding out temptations to me, which however I avoided as much as possible, and pretended not to understand her wishes.

My comrade acted differently, and complied with her sollicitations as often as she desired it, and did not scruple to converse too freely with her even in my presence. When this lustful woman found that all her arts and flattery were lost upon me, her love was converted into hatred, and she seemed to be attempting some means of putting me out of the way, as she feared that I should inform her husband of her behaviour; in

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which case a severe punishment would await her.

She one day told my comrade that she had determined to get rid of me; and he immediately informed me of it, and advised me to be upon my guard. I began to consider with myself that, though she would not sell me, as I passed for an Oriental, yet she might send me to the Portuguese, and demand a large ransom, which I must have repaid by several years servitude and hard labour.* Nay, perhaps, the revengeful woman

* If the Portuguese had ransomed me, I must have served several years as a soldier and thus have repaid the ransom-money: and, in case of my refusal to conform to the Romish Church, I should have been exposed to much ill-treatment.—The assertion is entirely without foundation, that the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, have frequently liberated unfortunate Europeans from slavery; and immediately carried them to Europe. To have the arms marked with crosses, names, and figures, and the like, is no proof that a person has been a slave among the African nations. On board of ship, every sailor is ready, for a piece of tobacco or a glass of brandy, to prick such figures in the arms, thighs, or legs. They perform this with two or three pins or needles tied together; the part which they intend to thus ornament being first tightly bound. In the small wounds made by the needles they rub gun-powder, which gives them a blue colour. At St. Helena, St. Jago, St. Clare, and

might absolutely poison me. To avoid the latter, I every day exchanged my own portion of provision for my partner's ; but at last determined to endeavour to effect my escape, as the best means of securing myself from her snares and persecution.

As I knew I might confide in my comrade, I discovered my design to him, and easily obtained from him a promise to assist me in putting it in execution. I endeavoured to persuade him to accompany me ; but this he refused, for he was too lazy and faint-hearted to engage in any enterprize attended with fatigue and danger.

at the Gape of Good Hope, there are many negroes, who can thus indelibly fix in the skin very neat figures and devices.

Nor would my lot have been much better, if one of the merchants on the coast had ransomed me ; for him too must I have reimbursed, by several years servitude. Many Europeans, who by shipwreck had fallen into the hands of the Africans, and who have been by them sold to the European factories, now languish there in slavery. They are not suffered to depart, till they have either repaid the ransom-money, or earned it by hard labour. The English, who boast of their humanity, pay large sums for such unfortunate captives, and then transport them to their colonies, thus depriving them of the satisfaction of returning to their dear native soil. The Dutch act in the same manner : many Europeans, whom they have pretended to ransom, are detained in their islands and colonies.

I now began to make preparations for my departure, by drying in the sun several kinds of fruit, as, for instance, *kikery* (a kind of plums,) and *guajavas* (a kind of pears, with a reddish pulp,) and resolved to set out at the time of the next full moon, when the Sovalans celebrate a festival, and do not go a-hunting. This happened on the 12th of October. In the morning we drove our flocks to some grounds lying to the north of the town, and where I had some days before hidden my store of dried fruits. When the women had retired after milking the ewes and goats, I took leave of my comrade, and ran as fast as possible through a neighbouring wood, and in two hours reached a ridge of mountains, which extended from north to south. As I now thought myself out of danger, and had only three villages to pass before I reached the borders of Angola, which was only four days journey distant from this place, I sat down at the foot of the mountain, and ate some of my dried fruit. But, on looking to the west, I espied three lions advancing majestically towards me. Hitherto, indeed, I had passed unmolested by such animals, but I nevertheless thought it prudent to secure myself, and ran towards the mountain. When I looked round, I observed that they had turned away to the east. I here found several kinds of fruit; but as I had
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yet a sufficient stock of dried ones, and did not know whether they might not be noxious or poisonous; I did not touch any of them. I lighted a fire, roasted some land-tortoises for my supper, and lay undisturbed near the fire all night.

In the morning I pursued my journey, and came to a broad valley, through which a small river flowed. At this river I rested myself several hours, and took three guilders out of the lining of my waistcoat, that they might be at hand in case they should be wanted. I saw some villages at a distance, but endeavoured to avoid them, as I wanted neither water nor food. But toward evening I came very near another village, the name of which is Akhimy: I was retiring from this also; but I had been observed, for several people came running towards me, and forced me to go with them to the village. I first requested some meal, which was immediately given me; and then enquired for the Mani; and the person to whom I was speaking said, that he was the Mani. I begged of him to give me a hospitable reception, whereupon he said: "That thou already hast." I then asked permission to pass the night in the village? He answered, "If thou art not a Christian," I replied, "I am an Arab."

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“For what purpose art thou come hither; probably to steal slaves?” “That I am not guilty of; I only wish to be allowed to travel through the country towards my native land.” “How far distant art thou from thy native land?” “I must yet travel four moons towards the east.” At last he said, “If thou art not a Christian, thou mayest sleep in my hut, and no one shall molest thee: in the mean time, sit down here.” I accordingly sat down in front of the hut, and he continued to view me with great attention. At last, he asked me, “how and where I had learned the language of the country?” I answered, “That I had remained with one of the kings for three months, and had been well treated by him.”

The most inquisitive of the inhabitants continued to view, and put questions to me till about midnight; yet in such a manner that I had no cause to be offended. I slept quietly in the back part of the hut; and when I took leave of the Mani on the following morning, he again gave me some meal, and advised me to keep more to the east; for if I proceeded towards the north, I must travel a large forest, where I should be in danger of being detained and ill-treated by the roving parties of Angolans. Notwithstanding this friendly advice,

advice, I continued to go directly northward, and having passed close to another Sovalan village, at noon reached the forest, which is half a day's journey in length, and forms a crescent from the north-east to the south-west. A small river that runs through it forms the boundary between the territory of the Sovalans and the kingdom of Angola. Towards evening I arrived, quite faint with fatigue and thirst, on the banks of this small river, lay down and refreshed myself with its excellent water, and resolved to stay there all night.

Early on the morning of the 25th of October, I left the wood, and entered a beautiful plain, where I saw some very fine and high reed-grass. About noon, as I passed near a small thicket, I met ten Matambans, who were dealers in salt. They civilly saluted me, and put many questions to me, relating, as far as I could understand them, to the object of my journey. I answered as well as I could, and they seemed to have understood me, for they ceased questioning me; they endeavoured, however, to persuade me to accompany them. I refused; for they were proceeding more to the west than to the north; and I parted from them at a village called Gality. This village is the first a traveller comes to on entering the kingdom of Angola

Angola by this route, and is very populous. I repaired to the cottage of the Mani, to request his protection : at first I met with a rude and surly repulse ; but, on presenting three guilders to him, he gave me some milk, meal, and dried pears, and permitted me to pass the night in a hovel among his sheep and goats.

The kingdom of Angola is fourteen days journey in length from east to west, and ten days journey from north to south. The country is intersected by a number of rivulets ; and the large river Bambo, which to the north divides it from the kingdom of Congo, waters and fertilizes with its numerous arms the adjoining tracts. Fruitful valleys and excellent pasture-grounds, which alternately succeed to mountains and naked rocks, seem to invite the hand of the cultivator, and promise a rich return for his labour ; but the natives are too indolent to improve the advantages which nature has bestowed upon them. To the east, Angola borders on the kingdom of Matamba ; to the south, on Bengula and Sova, and to the west, on the sea.

Angola produces saltpetre, silver, tin, and ivory, which the Portuguese endeavour to obtain from the

the natives, in exchange for European commodities. They likewise purchase here a number of skins. The whole country abounds with various kinds of wild animals, whence the inhabitants derive the means of subsistence without much trouble, and therefore neglect the breeding of cattle. The elephant and the rhinoceros are here, as it were, at home, whole herds of them being frequently seen.

The kings of Angola were formerly dependent upon the kings of Congo; but the present sovereign has freed himself from that state of vassalage, and thereby gained the esteem and affections of his subjects to such a degree, that even women and children take up arms, whenever war is declared against him. His retinue of state consists of twenty Mani's, fifty priests, and a body-guard of two hundred and fifty soldiers, armed with firelocks, which were taken from the Portuguese in 1763; and in the use of which they are very expert. The superintendence of every town is committed to two Mani's, and that of every village to one Mani; but these inferior judges cannot give a final decision in any case, but must make a report thereof to the King. When I saw him, the King was about thirty-six years of age; his dress consisted
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of a pair of blue trowsers, and a scarlet cloak, made of very coarse cloth. He is an enemy to the Portuguese, and consequently to all Christians, and therefore he restricted, by various means, the free trade which they formerly enjoyed with his subjects, and seems only to wait for a favourable opportunity to refuse them admittance into his dominions. The military force consists of thirty thousand well-disciplined foot soldiers; but as there are few horses in the country, and the many wild beasts prevent their increase, the King keeps no cavalry. Buffaloes are used to carry the heavy baggage of the army.

The king usually gives audience in the open air, surrounded by his body-guard, the officers stand behind him with drawn swords. These he styles *fidolgos**, (faithful attendants), and the guards *mocarani*, (most excellent soldiers), although they never take the field against an enemy. The priests, called *Evanga*, are next in rank to the king; and next to them is the *Tambocado*, a kind of superior judge, to whom the reports of cases

* This word is originally a Portuguese word, and signifies a nobleman.

from the inferior judges or Mani's are committed for re-examination : after which he, either himself, or through the medium of the priests, lays them before the King for his final decision.

The inhabitants of Angola do not adore idols ; but worship the sun and moon. Every time the moon enters into a new quarter a day of rest is celebrated, on which no one is allowed to go a-hunting. Fast days are usually appointed when thunder-storms arise ; for they then say—" The great Lord is angry : " and on such occasions they abstain from all food, and especially when it thunders in the night, leave their huts, and prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground, till the storm ceases. The harvest-feast, which lasts three days, is celebrated with the utmost solemnity. Though they are heathens, yet circumcision is practised among them as a religious rite ; they have likewise huts appropriated to the celebration of divine worship, and assemble there on days appointed by the priests.

Their domestic economy is very simple ; and though nature has amply provided for them various kinds of animals and fruits, they are remarkably temperate in their diet. Agriculture is practised

tified only in a few places ; where they sow a kind of millet, barley, and Indian corn. The gourds and water-melons produced here are excellent. Muscles are reckoned a great dainty : so fond are some of the Angolans of that species of shell-fish, that they will travel for miles in search of them.

Marriage is solemnized with various ceremonies : the bride and bridegroom seat themselves on the ground ; the priest then blesses them with certain formulas which no one understands, and then walks round them with a stick in his hand, and drives away the evil spirits. After this the family kindles a fire, and the priest's stick is burnt to ashes, which are mixed with milk, blessed by the priest, and swallowed by the bride and bridegroom. This they think promotes fecundity, and keeps off many evils. Polygamy is permitted and is very common ; but divorces are not allowed by their laws ; many of the women, however, are forced by ill usage to leave their husbands. The children are educated with great care, being instructed by the priest in reading, writing, and the laws and religion of their country. Instead of paper, they use skins covered with fat and soot ; and a sharp-pointed bone supplies the place of a pen. The priests usually instruct their scholars

scholars in the open air; and I observed that the children were much more attentive here, than they generally are in the European schools. The boys all belong to the king, who causes them, when arrived at the proper age to be trained to the use of arms; and in return grants a certain remuneration to their fathers, as, for example, every one who furnishes a full-grown son to the king, is maintained one year free of all expences. To enable the king to defray this heavy charge, a third part of the produce of the chace, of all cultivated fields, and of all spoil, which is obtained by any other means, belongs to him.

As to their dress—some wear only aprons made of palm-leaves; others add to this, an ash-grey cloak of coarse cloth or linnen, which they purchase from the Portuguese; and others wear on their back the skins of animals: Their hair is short and curly: and they ornament it with muscle-shells, or with beads, and other trinkets, which they obtain from the Portuguese. Their cheeks they paint blue or red. They never cut their nails; and therefore some of them, who wish to shine as peculiarly fashionable, carefully preserve the nails of their fingers from all accidents that might break them; and the nails of such

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may almost be mistaken for the claws of an eagle.

Towards natives of Africa they are very hospitable, but will not give a night's lodging to a Christian. Indeed it is with great reluctance that they permit Christians to come into the country, and therefore they convey to the Portuguese, on the back of buffaloes, such commodities as they wish to barter for European goods, and bring back what they receive in exchange. From the Portuguese factories at Soanda and Gambamda, deputies are sent twice every year to Manpango, the residence of the King, to endeavour to pacify him in some measure; as he is greatly incensed against them, for kidnapping so many of his subjects, and making slaves of them. Should the projected alliance with the king of Mataman take place, it is not unlikely that the Portuguese would still meet with the same fate that befell them in Japan.

On the 16th, I informed the Mani that I wished to pursue my journey; but he told me, that I must not depart till I had obtained permission from the King to travel through his dominions. On my peremptorily declaring that I would not turn back,

back, and that I was under the necessity of passing through this country, he ordered four men to escort me to the residence town, that the King himself might have an opportunity of seeing me.

On the following day we arrived in the neighbourhood of Maspa,* where we had intelligence, that the king was expected to review the warriors who were encamped near this village. I was afterwards conducted to an Evanga, who treated me very rudely; and under a persuasion that I was a Portuguese spy, ordered me to be tied with straps, and, deaf to all my remonstrances and entreaties, told me, that I must expect to be punished with the utmost severity, and that my seeing the king was quite unnecessary. He then ordered my escort to strip me of my waistcoat, lest some poison or murderous weapon should be concealed there for assassinating the king. Thus, to my excessive grief, my waistcoat, which contained not only all my money, but also my journal, was taken from me; and the guards leaped for joy, when, on tearing the waistcoat, the silver coin fell to the ground. I screamed out, and endeavoured to

* This is a fine village, in a delightful country, about one day's journey from Mapata. The King passes two months every year in a camp in its vicinity.

tear the straps with my teeth, to secure my property, but the guards assailed me so violently with their broad iron spears, that my spirits began to fail me. They then dragged me into a narrow hut, where my feet was tied to the corner stakes, and I could neither get food nor drink. Tortured by the keenest pangs of hunger, I asked my guards whether I was to be starved to death; they answered pertly, I might eat kohla (dirt) nor was any food brought me the whole night. I was even necessitated to ease nature on the spot where I was lying, because they would not untie me. When the guards were relieved, I received half a handful of millet and a pint of water, which was my allowance for the whole day. The guards, who were on duty the next day, told me, that the Evanga intended to cause me to be secretly executed,* without the king's knowledge, and that

* The execution of criminals is effected in the following manner. The unfortunate sufferer is stretched on the ground, as though he were to be broken on the wheel, large rods are fastened between his arms and legs, and long spears are driven into the ground through his hands and feet. Under this torture many ill-fated wretches languish four, or even six days, whilst birds of prey tear the flesh from their bones. When capital punishment is to be inflicted in a milder manner, a spear is thrust through the delinquent's body some hours after he has been expanded on the ground, as above described,

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I should perhaps suffer that very day. I was therefore thunder-struck at this news, as I knew the king was in the camp, and I hoped that, as I had been mistaken for a spy, they would have informed him of my being apprehended and secured. On mature consideration it struck me, that the Evanga had embraced the aforementioned resolution with a view to seize on my money, as, if he presented me to the king, he would be obliged to deliver my property into his hands; at the same time, I communicated my suspicions to the guard, and asked them whether they thought the king would approve of the proceedings. They answered, that I was a notorious spy, and had come to the village to murder their king; that the priests had confirmed this statement, and the truth of their assertions would not be doubted. Struck with terror at this unexpected news, I was on the point of fainting away, when my guards prostrating themselves at the entrance of the hut, with gestures expressing the most profound respect, I concluded that the king was passing before the hut, and exerting myself to the utmost, I cried out *ekomah*, *ekomah* (help, help.) One of the guards cut me severely with a whip, and charged me to be silent. Not discouraged by this treatment, I called out *harahky*, *harahky* (mercy, mercy.) The king hearing

hearing these words, came to the entrance of the hut, and enquired what was the matter. One of my guards answered his question, and, as well as I could understand him, repeated frequently the words spy. murder, death. In consequence of this explanation, the king ordered that I should be brought out, adding, that he would dispatch me with his own hand, if he found me guilty of the charge. My feet being untied, I was ordered to walk out of the hut, but was so extremely weak, and had been so severely hurt by the straps, that I could not stand. They then dragged me out of the hut, and threw me on the ground before the king. He ordered a priest, who acted as interpreter, to ask me what motive I had for coming to his country to murder him. I answered, that I had not come with any such view, but was a shipwrecked seaman, and that I merely wished to return, through his dominions, towards my native country. "What is the name of thy country?" "Arabia." "But thou art a Christian, and it is thy design to explore the strength of my dominions, and to seduce my subjects," I replied, "That I had no such design, and that some days back I told his Mani, at Akhimy, that all I wanted was permission to return through his country to my native land, and by the orders of that Mani, I had

had been escorted to this village, to solicit the permission, of so just and gracious a prince as I knew he was."

"The Mani should have ordered thee instantly to leave my dominions, which I suffer no Christian to enter." "It would have been fortunate for me had he told me so, for then I should not have been robbed and ill-treated by thy people." This answer raised him to a pitch of phrenzy; he sprung up from the ground, seized me by the arm, and exclaimed, "What dost thou say, thou Christian dog; arise and prove thy assertion." I answered, "Had not thy barbarous subjects used me in a brutish manner I should now be able to rise, and not be obliged to remain lying on this spot; but I rely on him who is above thee, and will inflict a punishment on thyself as well as on thy subjects. Thou believest not that I have been robbed, but it is thy will to kill me and defile thy honour." "I charge thee, he exclaimed, to tell me whence thou camest, where thou wast robbed, and by whom?" "Thou believest not my words," I replied, "if the robbers deny the fact, and if thou sparest my life, they will assassinate me." This increased his wrath; he sprung up, kicked me in the side, and exclaimed, "Speak out, dog, speak out, else I will trample

trample thee to death." "Kill me if thou findest me guilty, but hear what I shall say in my defence." I now gave him a full account of the proceedings of the Evanga, and told him that I had been informed of his intention to execute me secretly. This roused his attention; at last, after some consideration, he ordered me to be carried before his hut, where I was presented with two wolves' hides for a covering, and with some pieces of elephant's flesh for my food. I was informed soon after that the priests had attempted to persuade the King to order me for execution, as I was a madman, and would otherwise certainly murder him. But the King would not listen to this proposal, saying, that as I was confined I could not hurt him, and that as yet he had no proof of my being a madman.

The King visited me the next morning, ordered a salve, composed of herbs and grease to be applied to my feet, and told me that he had given orders to apprehend the four guards, who had cut my waistcoat from my body in the Evanga's hut, that they might be brought to trial. While he was standing by me, three or four men were brought in, and ordered to be carried into the hut of the King's castle.

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The next morning the King interrogated them in my presence, Whether they had robbed me? They answered in the negative, but added, that by the Evanga's order they had delivered to him my waistcoat, some pieces of money, and another thing of which they were not able to give a description. The Evanga was immediately sent for, and on his arrival the King addressed him to the following purport: "Thou shouldst be just, and not unjust; thou shouldst endeavour to ward off the wrath of the gods, and thou invitest their wrath, by robbing and insulting a harmless stranger. Begone! the punishment, to which this stranger was devoted, shall be inflicted on thee." He was tied, and carried into the hut of the King's castle, where, being stripped of his clothes, sentence of death was also passed on him. My money and journal were then produced, and from the latter I was ordered to read to the King the names of the nations, towns and villages, which I had visited in the course of my journey. I complied: this being an additional proof of my innocence, I was treated with great kindness, and obtained my full liberty. The money and journal were restored to me, as my property, but from motives of gratitude, I presented the King with twenty guilders, which were most graciously accepted,

cepted, and in return for which I received double their value in gold-dust.

The day being come on which the Evanga and the four guards were to be executed, I was ordered to assist at the execution, and to remain near the King. The prisoners were removed from the hut, and conducted to the place of execution. The Evanga getting sight of me, approached to beg my pardon, and was going to say more, but the King ordered him to be taken away, and the sentence to be executed. The prisoners were immediately seized by the executioners, and they were presently dispatched. The dead bodies were then cut in pieces, and burnt at sun-set.

From this moment I was ordered constantly to attend the king and three weeks after I joined in a military expedition against the Angolans, which was speedily crowned with complete success. We took three hundred and sixty prisoners, forty of whom were of the savage nation of the Kahymires, who inhabit the southern part of the kingdom of Bengala.

During my leisure hours I employed myself in cleaning the soldiers' firelocks, and putting them
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in a good condition; they were so extremely ignorant in this point, that at my taking off the locks, they were struck with astonishment. * Moors, who possess some knowledge of the art of making guns, now and then visit those parts, to mend guns and firelocks, but none had been here the last eight years. I was now a favourite of the King, as well as of all the great men of the country, and was to be appointed an officer in the army, but nevertheless I asked permission to pursue my journey. It was not immediately granted, the King being desirous, that before my departure I should attend him to his residence-town, which has the appearance of a fortress, seated on a mountain. It is called Mahakah, and is situated near the river Coanza, on a steep mountain, on the other side of which lies the village of Mupango, which in 1779, was nearly destroyed by the Portuguese. This village, since it has been rebuilt, enlarged, and embellished, well deserves the name of a town, as it contains about four

* In the prosecution of my journey in the desert of Sahara, I fell in occasionally with some travelling gun-smiths, who were natives of Abyssinia. They generally make a tour of six months, during which they can earn as much as will keep them and their families the other six months at home. They make also new guns; but of this I shall say more hereafter.

hundred huts. The castle, which is the King's residence, is of considerable strength; the Portuguese, who have attempted to take it several times, have been always obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss. One narrow road leads up to the summit of the mountain, on which it is built; and here the eye meets every where with heaps of large stones, with a shower of which the assailants are sure to be received. I also saw pieces of rocks from fifteen to twenty ells in length, which are rolled down the mountain on the besiegers, at their approach. At the entrance by the fore-mentioned narrow road, four rows of thick pallisades are driven into the ground, and the rear is secured with pieces of rock. The castle itself is badly constructed, and but one story high, but in the centre is a spring, that supplies the ditch with water, which is four feet deep and wide. The wings are occupied by the soldiers, and in the middle is a temple and another building, inhabited by the eight wives of the king. Having continued here six days, and experienced the kindest and most honourable treatment, I obtained fresh liberty to go whither I pleased; I departed accordingly on the 26th day of February 1786, attended by the best wishes of the king and the whole court.

CHAP. VIII.

Departure of the Author. The King makes him Presents on taking leave, and orders two Attendants to conduct him on his Journey northwards by the Village of Muhag, and the Town of Metbekaba—Description and History of the Azaborans, of the Villages Mahiny, and Emwabat, and of the Copraserpents, with which they abound—The Village Mohakam, its Situation on the Borders of the former Kingdom of Loango, its geographical Situation and History—Description of the present State of the Country, its Produce, Inhabitants and Trade—Passage over the River Bambo to the Robber-Villages, Wodolaba and Ogbo—At the latter the Author gains a Companion, a Miner, who was carrying Metal to Malemba, with whom he travels a Day and a half—History and Description of Malemba—The Author is here very strictly examined, and brought to the King, who makes him first a Servant, then a Page of the Body; but soon after he falls into Disgrace, and is condemned to Slavery, from which he escapes, and passes over to the Jagans.

ON my departure, a new calepasch, or travelling bottle, some pounds of flesh, and a bag of meal, sufficient for four days, were, by the King's order, delivered to me; and he himself presented me with three hundred zimpo, or shells, which are used for money. Four active young men were also ordered to be my guides for two days, and to give me every assistance possible on my journey. We had scarcely gone half a mile, when I observed, that, though it was my intention to travel eastward, we were going towards the north. On questioning my conductors, I learned that we made this turn to the north by the King's orders, that I might not according to my supposed wishes go to the Portuguese factories. It struck me immediately, that the King had always suspected me of a connection with the Portuguese, and now wished to remove me from them. It was in vain for me to make opposition, I followed my leaders. About mid-day we passed over a small river, and came into the fruitful plain of Muhag, a large village, containing about six hundred persons; though I saw very few men, the rest being, as I was informed, employed in the silver mines, about a league and a half farther to the east. I requested my guide to conduct me thither, but they were unwilling to transgress the King's

King's command: I was compelled to stop, and my curiosity was not to be gratified. We dined here, and the judge, on hearing that I was the King's friend, provided us with milk, meal, and dried fish in abundance; and gave us an invitation to spend some days with him. Not accepting the invitation, we proceeded on our journey, and about evening reached the little town, Mathekaka, by Matois, a rocky mountain. Here are about three hundred ill built houses and huts, and a small river runs through the town. The inhabitants cultivate millet, barley, gourds, melons, and a little Turkish corn: they possess but little cattle, for tigers and wolves are their neighbours, and are continually on the watch for prey. On walking round the place I found to my astonishment two smiths' shops and two potteries: the earthen ware was particularly well made and durable, and was an article, as I learned, of extensive commerce. We first visited the judge, and requested his protection, but he sent us to the Evanga, who retained me with him, and sent my guides to other huts. For supper I had only a handful of meal, mixed with a little milk and water, and for my night's lodging was shewn into the goat's hovel, whose door my host barricaded,

caded without with a wooden cross.* The stench and the heat prevented me from sleeping; and on the return of my guides in the morning, I arose almost fainting from fatigue. I complained of my night's lodging, and my guides loaded the Evanga with reproaches, threatening to acquaint the King with his ill conduct. He was affected; for he brought us instantly milk, meal, and dried fish, insisted not only on our eating, but on our taking away the remainder; intreated also my guides to pass the night with him on their return, and to accept of his hospitality.

Our path was to the north-east over a mountain, which veering from the east to the north forms a triangle: here we saw many wild fruit trees, and towards mid-day fell in with some Azahorans, who inhabit this mountain, living on fruits and roots, but chiefly by robbery. I expected ill-treatment from them; but as we shared our provisions with them, they were very friendly, and insisted on our sitting down and resting with them. We complied, and afterwards travelled some leagues farther. My guides now informed me, that the Aza-

* These crosses have the shape of a chevaux-de-frise, in which are fixed long sharp pointed thorns, to keep the tigers and wolves from the hovels and stables.

horans lived without huts, agriculture or pasture, slept in the open air, and wandered constantly among the mountains. Their whole number consisted of between seven and eight hundred persons, but it was increasing every year, and might hereafter become formidable to their neighbours. Some assert, that they derive their origin from the city Zohara, in the territory of Jaga, where they were once far more numerous. In the year 1623 King Manimugy attacked Jaga, took possession of the greater part of it, and summoned Zohara to surrender. The summons was rejected, and a small army marched out against them. Enraged at this conduct the King advanced his army, beat the Zaharans, pursued them into the city, put to death every inhabitant who had not escaped, and set the town on fire. The fugitives applied to the King of Angola for protection, who received them willingly, and assigned them a place for their residence. In time of war they form a free corps, and in most expeditions are successful: but their javelins and war-axes remain with them only during the war, and on the return of peace they are delivered back to their protectors. The men are large and strong, with a complexion inclining to a red rather than a brown black, with a shock head, which they adorn with small bones. Their religion is heathenish: the oldest man among them is both judge and priest,

but he decides only in trifling cases ; for crimes of a higher nature the criminal is delivered up to the King, and punished according to the laws of the land. Here a singular distinction between the sexes is worthy of mention, which consists in the hair, that of the women in this nation being long and beautiful, and the girls, when they are only a few weeks old, are remarkably distinguished by their hair from the boys of the same age.

About evening, after passing several troops of Azahorans, we reached, on our descent from the mountain, the little village Kamoh, in an agreeable and fruitful situation on the Molo, a stream about four feet wide, which runs round the mountain towards the north-east. Here I saw some tolerable pastures of cattle and well cultivated fields. The judge gave us a good night's lodging, and provisions as good as he could procure. On the next morning my escort returned back ; but the judge, having heard that I was a friend of the King's, gave me a messenger to conduct me to Mahiny. The road was exceedingly bad, and with the utmost toil we made our way through thickets, like barricadoes, and sometimes, where they were impenetrable, we were compelled to go a long way round. Insects and serpents were every where in swarms, and some young lions, who intimidated my

my guide more than myself, followed us for nearly a league. We passed through several vallies, without finding either drinkable water or villages, and it was quite evening before we came to Hatagna, a little village with between sixteen and twenty miserable huts. I wished to pass the night here, but my guide assured me, that he was ordered to bring me to Mahiny on this day; so I grasped my staff again and walked a league farther. When we came to Mahiny, we found the judge was retired to rest: he was called up by my guide, who informed him, that he had conducted me hither by the King's command, and that I hoped to meet with a hospitable reception. The surly sleepy judge gave us his word for a night's lodging, threw me out a mat, and promised to fetch us both milk and meal. This however I did not expect, but threw myself on my mat, and fell asleep. When I awoke, I missed my guide, and on enquiring after him was informed that he was gone back to his home. The judge in the morning looked on me with greater attention, and observing that my complexion was quite different from that of the natives, and perceiving that I was somewhat acquainted with their language, he became more friendly and good-tempered, and intreated me to spend the day with him, and to put up with his humble fare: I accepted his invitation with pleasure,

sure, repofed myfelf, eat and drank, and converfed with my hoft. Here I again partook of elephants flefh drefled with metabah * milk and ogheghebonitahs, and made a moft excellent dinner. The metabah and the foup had made the flefh very tender, and given it a good rich flavour.

On the third of June I refumed my journey, and was conducted by a flave of the judge to the next village, called Emwahat, diftant about a half day's walk. Before we came into the village, we were to go the north-eaft : but my guide would not take that path, and turned eaftward, that he might fhew me in the neighbourhood, through which I was to go, two barren peaked mountains at a diftance, between which there was, he faid, a hole, called Nunquiata (the ferpents' hole), where there was a prodigious number of ferpents, that came into the country around for food. When we were about half a league from the village, he pointed out to me, at a little diftance from the ferpents' hole, two men, who were, he faid, placed as

* Metabah are a kind of peafe that grow from fifty to a hundred in a plant on very fine threads. In the proper fenfe of the word they are not peafe, as they do not grow in pods but like grain.

guards by the village to watch and destroy the serpents that came from the hole. I afterwards learned the art and method of taking and killing these most dangerous creatures in the best and safest way; which is to seize them, that their tails may be cut off first with security, since the poison is there lodged: there they are broiled over a charcoal fire, and eaten as a very delicate dish. In the village I saw some of the serpents thus killed, which the natives called Copra, probably from the Portuguese word Cobra: they were of considerable length, and might weigh from twenty to thirty pounds each. The head was round though rather flat at the top; the ground of the colour was ash grey, with a green stripe running round the body about a quarter of an inch in breadth. In the kingdom of Bahahara I found some of the same kind, but not so large.

Emwahat consists of about thirty huts, being within the kingdom of Angola, from whose borders it is distant about a half day's journey, situated on a fruitful soil by little hills to the north, and to the south by a river which I took for an arm of the river Bambo. My guide wished at this place to turn back, but was prevailed on by my entreaties to conduct me still farther. After a rest of two hours we pursued our journey through a pleasant

pleasant wood, well stocked with fruit trees, till we came to the borders of the kingdom; where my conductor left me, after hearty wishes of a good journey to me, and returned to his own home. After walking a league farther I spent the night at the end of the wood.

On the fifth of June I came to a narrow pass, and soon after to the village of Mohakam, once a border town in the kingdom of Loango*. I should have missed the village, which lies between some eminences, if a good-tempered old woman, who was picking up sticks, had not brought me to it, where she first gave me some milk, and then conducted me to the judge. The judge, a sensible young man, questioned me first on the nature of

* This tract of land, which once formed the kingdom of Loango, was fifty-six German miles in length from west to east, and fifty of the same miles in breadth from south to north. It lies to the north-east, between Guinea and the mouth of the river Zaire. The king was defeated in the year 1778 by the Portuguese and the king Siaoakuly from Caçongo, and soon after the battle was murdered by his subjects. The inhabitants this country are now free; they yield indeed to the king of Caçongo an insignificant tribute, which is paid by the Portuguese, for which they enjoy a free trade in Loango. The eldest are chosen always by the nation as judges, and willing deference is paid to their decisions.

my journey, and then ordered me some milk and millet meal in a large tortoise-shell: he endeavoured also to persuade me either to stay with him or to turn back, as there was no possibility of travelling through some wild and savage nations in my way without danger. I was not to be persuaded, but enquired further after the road, and safest manner of travelling; particularly after the nature of the road to the city of Malemba, which my former guides described to me as wide and well built. The judge was of opinion, that I should not easily find my way without a guide; and, as he assured me that he could soon find me one for thirty zempo a day, I begged of him to procure me one. Curiosity had brought together a number of bystanders, from whom he selected a strong man with wild aspect, whose looks terrified me, when he was presented to me, as I could not consider myself safe under his guidance and protection. The judge took notice of my embarrassment, encouraged me, and advised me to place confidence in this man, who was both well acquainted with the way, a very good man, and particularly one not to be intimidated by danger. I passed the night with the judge, who had provided for me a good lodging, and there was no want of milk, meal and tortoise flesh. Before I set out in the morning, I counted out to
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my guide his thirty zempo, and thus made my own burden lighter.

This seems to be the place to give some account of the nation described to be so savage, which I was now going to visit. This country is divided into three parts, very mountainous, but very fruitful. The minerals found here are, copper, lead, tin, and some gold dust. The vegetables produced are millet, Turkey corn, peas, gourds, sugar-cane and tobacco. A tolerable kind of palm wine is made here, and their plum juice is most excellent. Their gain from cotton is inconsiderable, as the cultivation of it has from the continual wars with the neighbouring nations been very much injured, and in 1780 the fine wood by the city Alemithangoy (ango) about a league in length and nearly as much in breadth, and producing a great deal of cotton, was burnt down to the ground. Here are wild and tame animals in abundance, elephants valuable for their ivory, lions, tigers, and wolves, with whose skins a considerable traffick is carried on at Malemba, the principal trading town in this country, and thence with several European nations, particularly the Dutch. Buffaloes, bulls, peacocks, red and blue striped ring-doves of considerable size, and partridges, are here also to be found. The hares
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of this country, called Mayzahto, are about the size of the West Indian hare, but their hair like that of their sheep, which is very much like our turnspits, is very unprofitable. The great lake above the city Malemba produces good fish, particularly large and well-tasted muscles. The three parts of the country are these following: first, the upper part by the sea-side belonging to the Portugueze: the second inhabited by the Malembans, which is the middle of the country, and on the west bordering on the Portugueze factories: the third or lower part is the kingdom of Cacongo. The two last mentioned nations were about an hundred and fifty years ago under the same King, but soon after that time several great men at the court of the King of Loango, took advantage of his violence and carelessness, and endeavoured to erect kingdoms for themselves: thus the kingdoms of Malemba and Cacongo were formed, which however have been subject to several revolutions.

These two head nations, which kept within bounds the ambition of the Portugueze, can with the assistance of their allies bring into the field thirty thousand men in arms: their weapons indeed are only bows and arrows, but they use them with great bravery. The whole army consists of infantry.

infantry. Their religion is heathenish, without many ceremonies and without superstition, for they acknowledge only one supreme Being, to whom prayers are offered daily, morning and evening, in ill-constructed temples. The priests have little influence in the government, and are not so much esteemed as by other heathenish nations. Great pains have been taken by the Portugueze, but without success, to extend Christianity in these countries: the simplicity of their ceremonies, and still more their doctrines, which reason cannot comprehend, are an absolute barrier to the conversion of heathens accustomed to the worship of God in simplicity. Here are no houses for schools; the children are taught on a green in the open air. The art of writing has been long known: instead of paper, palm leaves are used; and instead of pens, little bones of birds or fish. The colour of the inhabitants inclines more to the dark brown than the red, and gives them a wild aspect: they are in general large and strong, with large eyes, long hair, adorned with little bones and shells, and flat noses and thick pouting lips. The body down to the middle is usually bare: round the waist are fastened aprons of palm leaves or the skins of wild beasts, to cover the nudities. Those in the vicinity of the Portugueze settlements, wear aprons of blue and striped

striped linen, as thin as that of which our boulders are made. The women have this singularity, that they part their hair into four, five, or six locks ; which they bind round the head ; ornamenting them with shells, bones, or glass beads. They all besmear their bodies with fat from the tails of their sheep, which remains always fluid. I was myself obliged to comply with this disgusting custom, on account of the excessive heat of the sun, by which the skin was liable to be most painfully scorched. The houses are framed with reeds, wood, and clay ; sometimes, too, of rough unpolished stones. They are, however, but poor hovels ; and have each a round roof, with a hole in it for the transmission of the smoke. The ordinary food of these people consists of four milk, meal, fish, and fresh venison. For occasions of festivity, they slay some of their tame animals. They live better in the town than in the houses scattered over the country. They are no strangers to vessels for cookery ; which, however, they have not in common use. The use of spices is very ancient among them : and of these, they are still exceedingly fond. Hospitality is more eminently practised toward strangers in this than in any other part of all Africa. A traveller unacquainted with the country is never left to explore his way alone and in uncertainty, but

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is kindly attended from one village to another, or guided to where he can be in no danger of mistaking his way. These people are remarkable for warm open-hearted kindness : they cheerfully share with you any thing they have ; not, however, without expecting some return, on your part. Injuries are furiously revenged ; and jealousy is here one of the reigning mischiefs of life. If a man have but the slightest suspicion that his wife has held any conversation with another man ; if they have had but a single interview at which he himself has not been present ; it becomes infinitely difficult to persuade him that his honour has not been betrayed. The men are mostly occupied in the pursuits of hunting and fishing, and in the exercise of arms. Some, however, manufacture earthen-ware, forge arms, or weave nets. I passed, with my guide, through the villages of Magay, and Seehang ; and stopped for the night at the town of Kungoha. This last stands in a swampy situation, at the foot of an inconsiderable hill. I here counted about two hundred and seventy houses of mean appearance : the water had a putrid smell, and was drawn at the distance of a quarter of an hour's walk from the town. The inhabitants are chiefly miners, who are, for the greater part of their time, employed among the adjacent

adjacent hills. King Masahwah, of Cacongo, is lord of the town ; and its ordinary government is by two judges who reside here for this purpose, under his authority. I was hospitably received ; but had scarcely set out, next morning, when an attempt was made to detain me as a white slave. I contrived, however, to slip a piece of money into the hand of the judge before whom I was carried ; and he set me at liberty.

On the 8th we held our way over the hill of Mahta, the highest in those parts. It joins, at one end, those which are named the Mountains of the Moon. Passing here we saw, on our left hand, the town of Moohog, which bears also the name of Niederbemde. Beyond the hill, we came within sight of a number of men at work. When we had come up to them, we found they were forty persons occupied in digging ore of tin. I asked if they knew how to smelt it themselves ? and was informed that they did not, but sold it to smelting-houses at Malemba. From these people I procured some milk. I offered them a guilder, and received in change for it three hundred and sixty zimpo. At this I was exceedingly surprized ; having hitherto supposed that the people in these parts were utterly strangers to the use of coined money. My guide soon after asked me to give him one of

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those pieces; and upon inspecting it, he said that he had sometimes before seen similar pieces. Towards evening, we met with some men on their return from hunting, who were going to Wodolaha*, where they had their dwellings. They endeavoured to persuade us to go with them; but my guide would not consent. When they had left us, he told me that the place was in no good repute, and could not be safely visited by travellers. At the distance of an hour's walk from the village of Ohgo, where was a ferry over the river, we halted, and attempted, but without success, to kindle a fire. At last, being greatly fatigued, we threw ourselves down on a heap of leaves, and slept undisturbed till the morning. We then entered the village. After an hour's delay we were ferried over the river, for which we were required to pay sixty zimpo. We fell here into company with a fellow-traveller, a man who was carrying ore for sale at Malemba: he was a man of great information, so that I exceedingly regretted I could not understand his speech. By the way from the river to Malemba, which was a day and a half's journey, we found every where abundance of fine well-tasted fruits, and wholesome fresh water. An excellent well at some hours distance from the town,

* Wodolaha consists of a few houses on the west side of the river Bambo, where is a ferry over the river.

and which affords the best water, is named by the inhabitants Bonhi Bekoma, the Golden Well.

On the 11th we reached the extremity of the town; but we were not permitted to enter it, till a messenger had been dispatched to the Malfutta (a sort of Governor) to inform him of our arrival, and to ask his permission for us to go into the town. After an hour's delay came an officer, attended by three other men, who questioned me in terms nearly similar to those which are put to strangers at the gates of all the great towns in Germany. They were surprized to hear me say that I was from the east country, as I was in the common dress of the neighbourhood, and there was nothing singular in my whole appearance. The officer upon this turned from me, and said to the guard, Mani-mambuta (a Portuguese Lord). We were now detained in a hut in the suburbs, in the custody of four men appointed to watch us. I soon perceived that I was taken for a spy, and was likely to be very severely dealt with. The officer went away, but quickly returned, and took my guide with him. The guide was probably interrogated concerning my character, and the object of my journey. When he came back to me, he said that he must now return home. I counted out to him the number of zimpo which I by agree-

ment owed him, giving him over and above two guilders on account of the kindness and fidelity with which he had served me. One of the guards conducted him out of the suburbs. All this day I was left to rest in the hut, and was well supplied with water, prunes, apples, and a little milk with some flour in it. My keepers were inquisitive concerning the adventures of my travels; and I answered readily to all their enquiries. In the evening returned the officer whom I before mentioned; and with many excuses and pretences he informed me that the King, whom he had not expected before next morning, was now arrived. The King being curious to see me, ordered me to be carried to his house. The moment I entered he put to me the following questions, to which I was obliged to answer:

“What want you in this town? Are you a merchant or a spy?—Answer. “I want nothing. “I am an unfortunate man, that has escaped from shipwreck; and I have a curiosity to see this fine town, having heard it much spoken of, many days journey backward in the country through which I have passed hither.”

“Of what nation are you? Whence came you?”
—“I am an Arab, from South Caffre-land: our ship was wrecked on those shores.”

“If this be so, you must have had companions
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in your misfortune: where are they?"—"Only two beside myself escaped alive. They travelled with me till they both fell sick; when, being unable to proceed, they were murdered by the Caffres."

"How far distant from hence is the place where your ship was wrecked?"—"Between six and seven hundred miles."

"Had you the dress you now wear when you were on board the ship?"—"No; my cloaths were taken from me by the Caffres."

"How far is it to your native country?"—"That I cannot tell."

"Here you shall be entertained till a ship arrive, that may convey you to your friends."

He then gave his orders to the officers to conduct me back to where I had been under guard, and to furnish me with cloaths. I there received a *body-guard*, for so it was called—being blue and of half the length of a mantle: it reached not lower on the body than to the buttocks. With it was given me a short apron, and a piece of cotton-stuff for a turban which I was to wear on my head. When I was dressed, the same officer conducted me back to the King, who did me the honour to appoint me attendant on his baggage-buffalo, which I was to load and unload from time to time. This post I held for three months, till the King returned to the place of his ordinary residence.

Malemba was once the capital of a small principality. Its sovereign had the title of Malemba Nahany, or *Prince of Rights*. The last of these princes entered into an alliance with the Zoggo-reern,* the object of which was, to make him king of two nations, and to spoil his neighbours of their territories. He was, however, defeated by the King of Cacongo, made prisoner, and stripped of his dominions. The whole kingdom of Cacongo, to which Malemba now belongs, is in length about seventy German miles, in breadth about forty. It is very fertile; abounding in vegetables, minerals, and other productions, particularly beasts for the chase, of all sorts, which are slain in great numbers chiefly for the sake of their skins. Here too is found enough of salt for the common uses of life, with abundance of metallic ores, which last are, however, less skilfully wrought here than in various other places. The river Bambo, and the sea-coast of Sahmoja, afford plenty of fish of all sorts. Europeans trade to great advantage with this place. For things of small value, such as trinkets, bar-iron, glass-beads, coarse stuffs, linen, and cotton, with arms of very

* These were tributaries to the King of Angola, and possessed a narrow tract of country adjacent to the east side of that side of that kingdom.

indifferent fabrication, they obtain, in return, great quantities of hides of the best quality.

The royal army consists of about twelve thousand men, who can be assembled within the space of eight-and-forty hours. The King is, himself, a brave soldier, leads his warriors, in person, into the field; and, for his policy and valour, is dreaded by the most formidable of his neighbours, who would otherwise be sufficiently ready to attempt encroachments upon his dominions. He is not less haughty than valiant. When he goes abroad, he is attended by four principal officers, and by twelve men who compose his life-guard. When he gives audience, all present are obliged to kneel before him. His principal officers are at the same time judges in the towns and villages: but in matters of great importance, they have not authority to determine without laying the affair before the King. He is very religious, and goes morning and evening to public prayers. The priests, if they desire to win the King's favour, must live very circumspectly, and perform their functions with the utmost punctuality. Polygamy is allowed. The male children belong from infancy to the King, who devotes them to the military profession, and makes them exercise themselves in arms from their earliest

years. Mothers educate their daughters: the boys are educated by the priests. The King has twenty wives, who are treated with the harshness and indifference used towards slaves, and are rarely allowed to shew themselves in public. Most of the sons of those wives are appointed in their early years to high offices. In time of war, the officers have pay and provisions from the King; but the common soldiers must find provisions for themselves; for which reason they are usually attended by their wives, whose business is to supply them with victuals. The King has in his dominions two towns, eight-and-thirty villages, with a castle that stands on a high hill. Malemba is the capital. It contains seven hundred houses or huts, three streets measuring its length, and two cross-streets. The handsomest and best occupied of these is, the Koffa, or tradesman's street. The market is held here; the Portuguese and Dutch merchants have in this street their counting-houses and warehouses; and this is likewise the place where most of the handicraftsmen exercise their occupations. The Rifuhao-street has also the advantage of a market-place, in which fruits and all sorts of cattle are sold. Every one of the long streets has at each end a gate, guarded by sixteen or twenty men, whose business is to take care that victuals, wares, &c. be neither brought

brought in nor carried forth, without paying a certain toll, similar in its nature to the excise of Germany or Britain. The town is surrounded with a dry wall of rough unhewn stones, without any sort of cement, and with a ditch. The present castle in which the King, when he comes here, resides, is but a sorry building, one story high, and about five hundred feet in circumference. Its exterior apartments are occupied by soldiers: the king's wives are confined in its interior recesses. It stands on the shore of the river Malempo, at no great distance from the sea, and enjoys a good prospect. I saw it mounted with four pieces of artillery, three-pounders; the purchase of which cost the King a great expence. I must remark, that ivory and gold-dust are brought to market at this place, and are sold for pieces in money, or bartered for European wares. Christian traders are obliged to pay here a duty of five per cent. on all goods which they buy or sell. While I continued here, a Dutch merchant-ship came into the river, whose captain, by name Vosenmeyer, wished to purchase from my master thirty elephants' teeth. For those he offered a piece of red cloth, some ells in length, as a turban—three strings of yellow glass beads—four knives with tin handles—and a woollen shawl into the bargain. The King seemed to be more than half inclined

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to accept his offer. But I took the liberty to observe, when he had delivered to the Captain ten of the teeth, that the goods offered were mere trifles, and not worth more than two or three of the teeth; that, however, to afford him the means of exorbitant profit, he should have the whole ten for them; that the thirty he could by no means have at such a rate; and that, if he desired to have the other twenty, he must pay for them with other goods. The Captain stared at me, and asked jeeringly, if I were the King's keeper? I answered, "That I am not: but I have undertaken to see that these elephant's teeth shall not be given away for nothing, but sold for a fair price." Provoked at this, he strove to persuade the King that I wished to discourage the traffick, because the goods offered were not to my taste. The King seeing that I was angry at this imputation, asked—why I would not deliver all the teeth? I took courage, and replied—"The ten elephant's teeth which I have delivered to the Captain, were much more valuable than the goods with which he was to pay for them; and I cannot agree that my kind and worthy master should be so egregiously imposed upon as to give more for those goods." This answer soothed the King, so that he said, "Thou knowest better than I how to deal with him, I leave it to thee." He then
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arose and left us. The Captain then thought proper to alter his tone ; and for the thirty elephant's teeth I obtained, beside the goods which he had before offered, two hatchets, six pairs of scissars, a looking-glass, and twenty guilders. The money I kept to myself ; the goods I delivered to the King, who was so overjoyed, and so much pleased with me, that he upon this occasion relieved me from my accustomed labour, promoted me to be one of his body-guards, and even gave me, with other new clothes, a mantle of considerable value, which he himself had just laid aside. From this time I was obliged to be in constant attendance upon him, a thing not at all agreeable to me, as it left me less at liberty than I had hitherto been. I once went a hunting with him ; and on that occasion I killed a stag with a javelin, with which he was so much pleased, that he gave me liberty from that time to go a hunting whenever I chose. The Evanga, however, though pretending to be my friend, was at heart my enemy, and strove to excite the King's suspicions against me. He soon found opportunity to gratify the malignancy of his disposition in this respect. He commanded me, in the King's name, to go, and pluck some plums, and to carry them into the apartments in which the King's wives lived. I asked to whom I was there to give the plums. He informed me, that
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they were to be given to an old woman whom I should there find expecting them. I plucked the fruit, and took it into the seraglio, but the old woman I could not find. I called, but no person made answer; I called still louder, and then came the Evanga, whose apartments were near. He forbade me to call aloud lest the women should be disturbed and alarmed. I then recollected the King's command, and was all at once silent. He ordered me to retire and leave the fruit with him, without saying any thing of it, unless it should be enquired for by the King. I wished to be gone, upon which he told me that I might go to my master's wives if I wished to lose my life in the morning. I well knew that going into the women's apartments was forbidden under the severest penalties. But the authority of the King's command made me easy on this score, and I was without fear of consequences. The Evanga again spoke to me, and proposed that I should accompany him to his abode. I followed him, and he entertained me with Embetth, or palm-wine, with which I was so much intoxicated, that I forgot the fruit. I staggered to my own dwelling, and there concealed as well as I could my disgrace. This answered the purpose of the Evanga, who, while I was asleep, took the fruit to the King, telling him how much I had alarmed the women,
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and that I had threatened the lives of the guard, and had endeavoured to force my way, in spite of opposition, into the apartments of his Majesty's wives. The guards not having been on their duty at the time when I went towards the apartments of the women, were in great difficulty how to act; but, as they had gone out of the way without leave, found it necessary to side with the Evanga. The King gave orders that I should be arrested and examined. Two soldiers came to awake me, and carry me to examination. Being in a state of intoxication, I said things which in another situation I should have been incapable of uttering.

I was accordingly put in fetters, and confined in a wretched hut without the castle, the door of which was bolted and made fast with leathern thongs. There I lay till next day at noon, sorely afflicted with thirst and hunger. At last came four soldiers, who bade me follow them. I did as I was bidden, and was conducted by them into the King's presence, who appeared to be angry with me. From the soldiers I could learn but little either of what had happened to me, or what I had said when examined on the preceding day. I came therefore unprepared to answer the questions which were now to be put to me, and to defend myself against the accu-

accusations of the Evanga. What I now said seemed not to give satisfaction. The King, therefore, ordered me to be carried to my hut, and there to be supplied with some milk and flour for my subsistence. After I had lain in the hut for some hours longer, I called to the guard, and requested them to loose my fetters. They gave me some hearty curses, and retired, commanding me to be quiet. Next morning I was carried back, and was again sharply examined. I could do nothing more than own that I was drunk, and ask forgiveness for the offence. This was not enough. But at the end of my examination two soldiers were ordered to give me with thongs of leather twenty lashes, of which I severely felt the smart. I was conveyed back, and left without other consolation for what I had suffered, than half a pint of water and a handful of grains of millet to support nature. My situation had for some days before been altered greatly for the worse; and I was now treated like a slave, forced to cut and bring in wood, and degraded to other menial services equally painful and ignominious. The food allowed me was also bad and scanty, so that I had not half enough for my adequate subsistence. Every one scoffed and derided me; and my hardships were so great, that I desired to die. Though the Evanga pretended that
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he pitied me, yet, that he felt no kind of pity in his heart will appear hereafter. But the storm must at length be over, and give place to calm and sunshine. I had remained in this wretched condition for about six weeks, and without any prospect of relief, or of aught but the utmost wretchedness; when, on a certain occasion, the overseer of the King's slaves received orders to go with a part of the slaves under his care to the mountain of Comoh* in search of firing. Next day, the 6th of October, to the number of sixty slaves, with twenty foldiers, departed for the execution of this design. Among those slaves I was one. We were to go by the coast of Sohmoea, at the distance of one and a half day's journey from the town, and there search for shell-fish. This task was a very hazardous one; as, in collecting the shell-fish, we were often fathoms deep in the mud, and were in danger of being swallowed up by it. Our feet too were apt to be bitten and torn by the tortoises and other creatures in search of their food in the mud. To this danger I freely exposed myself, as it was what at any rate I could not avoid. I, for my own share, procured thirty of those shell-

* It divides the country at its eastern confines from that of Jago or Jomhage. It is a tract six days' journey in length from east to west, and produces abundance of palm-trees and fruit-trees.

fishes *. These I was to bring into the town; though I felt very sensibly that I could not travel far with them. The party to which I belonged were gone half an hour's walk before me. I could not follow with the activity necessary to overtake them. The soldiers, for this reason, beat me with their leathern thongs so long and so severely, that I at last sank to the ground, and the blood gushed from my mouth. Even in this situation I found no pity, but was urged to rise and proceed with my burden. To proceed was, however, to me impossible. This some of my unfortunate companions saw; upon which they relieved me by dividing my burthen amongst them. I exerted myself then to the utmost, and at last with great difficulty reached the town. The overseer informed the King of the great quantity of shell-fish which we had brought; adding farther that three of the men were in danger of losing their feet, and that the new slave, meaning me, had fallen down under his

* These shell-fishes are round, and when of the full size, as large as a common table plate. They have a greenish hue, and contain pearls which are not much regarded. The shells are used as elegant dishes for the table; they receive a polish with stones that greatly improves their appearance: the fleshy substance within, is white but very hard, and when it is to be dressed, is beaten and minced with an instrument of wood. At the Cape this species of shell-fish was named *Klepp Koschen*.

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burthen, and could not bring it home. Of the cudgelling which I had been obliged to bear, he said not a word.

As soon as the King heard this account, he ordered that I should be brought to him, but it required time to wash the blood away, with which I was covered from head to foot, and they represented to him that I was again ill, and not in a situation to appear before him. At day-break the Evanga came to me to enquire after my health. I gave him four guilders, and requested him to procure from the King my liberty. He went away, and in a short time after sent one of the King's servants to fetch me, and as soon as I made my appearance in the King's presence, the following dialogue took place :

King. What do you want ?

Answer. I want nothing but my liberty, and for this I humbly petition you.

K. As you are not ill, why did you not come yesterday evening, when I sent for you ?

A. I knew nothing of the order.

K. I was told that you had a spitting of blood, and on that account could not come to me ?

A. That is true. Your inhuman subjects have treated me worse than a beast, as you shall see this instant. Here I threw my cloak off, and shewed

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him the wounds and bruises over my whole body.

K. You probably deserved such a punishment?

A. Hear me, I beseech you, and then judge whether I deserved it. They laid upon my back thirty bags of shells, when the others carried only from twelve to fifteen bags.

K. That was your punishment, for not being more obedient in my service, when you were a free servant.

A. My resolution was never to transgress your orders; your Evanga made me transgress them.

K. The Evanga has informed me of your disobedience, and described to me your licentiousness.

A. I have not been licentious. I wished to follow your commands punctually, but the Evanga prevented me.

I now related to him every circumstance, entreated him to restore me to my liberty, representing to him that he had no right to make me a slave, since I was a foreigner, who wished only to travel through his country, and made no claims on the rights of hospitality, but was willing to pay for all my wants. I begged also to pay him for every thing that he had done for me when I was his servant. The officers who stood by looked on me with astonishment, and seemed to express their dis-

displeasure at the freedom of my language, but the Evanga felt himself particularly offended. He here represented to the King that I was a liar, that I had spoken very little that was true, and that it would be better to exchange me for a slave in some other neighbourhood. His advice was taken; but it was determined that I should first be sent in quest of elephants' teeth. On the following day the journey took place; but before we set off I received a dozen lashes, ordered, as I afterwards learned, by the Evanga, and a charge was given to our commander to keep a strict eye over me.

On the 12th of October we departed from Malembe, and on the third day after reached the place where we were to encamp, by a narrow river, probably an arm of the river Bambo, between two chains of hills bending to the north-east. On the first three days we did not get a single tooth, and on the fourth encamped farther to the east in the woods. On the fifth day we found three teeth, but not without some risque, as the elephants were still in that neighbourhood. On the 19th we retired under the mountains, and encamped over against the village of Wakat*. About mid-day

* This village contains about twenty huts, and is the last on the eastern border of this country.

our leader separated us into three parties, to beat about the thickets; and with a slave and three soldiers I went on the right wing towards the borders. About evening we found a tooth, weighing nearly sixty pounds, with which we returned back, and arrived at our camp about midnight. The next day was a day of rest. On the 22d we went out again as before in small parties, and I proceeded with my old comrades to our former posts. After a march of some leagues we hurried towards the north-east, but found nothing, though we kept up the search till evening. Determined to return that night to the camp, we first sat down among the bushes to eat a few handfuls of millet. The soldiers, as they were tired, and the camp was nearly three leagues off, resolved now to pass the night in this place, and we gathered some sticks to make a fire, but one of our comrades, who had been exploring our situation, prevented us on his return, by saying, that he had seen a light not far from us, and that it would be better for us not to light a fire, lest we should be discovered. It was probable that the Jagans*, on whose borders we

* Whether these are the Jaggas placed in some geographical works in the kingdom at Monoemugi, I cannot ascertain; but this I maintain, that there are no Jaggas subject to the King of Monoemugi.

were lying, had made this fire, and were come hither in search of elephants' teeth. I gathered a heap of rushy grass, flung myself upon it, and pretended to fall asleep. For about half an hour my comrades chatted together, respecting the fire which had been seen, and then composed themselves for sleep. I rested quiet about two hours, then got up, went about thirty steps off under pretence of necessary occasions, and as no one was looking after me, and I had reason to believe that my comrades were asleep, I doubled my pace towards the spot where the fire was burning. I did not reach the heights till day-break, and found nobody by the fire, though the ashes were still glowing. Around were the traces of footsteps, which I followed, and after an hour's walk through a thicket, I saw at last three men armed with javelins and hunting spears. I stopped and called out to them, Mara, mah, jakoho (my friends, where am I?). They ran to me instantly, and asked me whence I came, and whither I was going? I gave a short account of my journey from the beginning, but described to them circumstantially the misery and want under which I had lately laboured. I was questioned where the men were who were on the search for elephants' teeth, what was their strength, and with what arms they were provided. I gave them accurate intelligence, and they conducted

me after a good hour's march farther into the wood to their village, which is situated in it, and consists of eighty huts. Here I was desired to repeat again to the Majka (or head man) what I had already related, who considered the dignity of his nation as insulted, by another nation pretending to hunt and look for teeth on his borders. He instantly ordered every one to seize his arms, and to attack the enemy; but they came too late, for as soon as I was missed my comrades probably conjectured that I should betray their encampment.

CHAP. IX.

History and Description of the Jagans, their Manners, Customs, national Character—Description of the War-buffaloes, and Water-bottles made of Elephants' Entrails—Journey over the Akafi Mountains, through the City of Groh, by the frontier Village Wabhala, in the Territory of Mugari (Minto)—Description of it and its Inhabitants—Journey through the thick Wood of a mountainous Country, to the Village Sowohm—History and Description of the Kingdom of Massi and Mamham the Metropolis—The little Hamlets, Muhotaku, whose Inhabitants subsist by Robbery—Journey through the Villages, Doemoh, Bathym, and Haka, to the Mathians—Description of this Nation—Kingdom of Jukkodigo, or Monoe-mugi, its Situation, Limits, History, and Description—Two different Origins of its Inhabitants—Form of Government, Religion, Manners, and Customs—Journey over Awakana, the Lake and City of Zambre—Description of this City and its Royal Palace—Character of the King—Dress of the Officers—The Author repairs a Watch for the King, is taken into Favour, and Travels with him to the Lake of Zambre—Improvement of Maps—Departure

ture from Zambre—The Author goes over the Ak-maho Mountains, through Serra, Mebar and Jelloh, Etaham, Mus, Himogu, Mosaku and Gohamy, over the Border Mountains, through Paatam and Koblogom, the last Village in this Kingdom.

THE Jagans, a small and poor nation, reside chiefly in the forests, and live on fruits and roots. The chase produces little, for the tigers are too numerous to permit other animals to thrive, and elephants and tigers only are found in abundance; for the teeth of the former javelins and hunting spears are exchanged. The track of land, possessed by this nation, belongs properly to Malemba; but having obtained their liberty they possess eight villages so situated, that the inhabitants can assemble in a day in one place. Each village has its head-man, chosen from the bravest of the villagers. I could gain no intelligence concerning the origin of this nation, but it seems not improbable that they sprung from the Congoans. The number of men capable of bearing arms amounts, as they told me, to a thousand persons, and they pride themselves much on the bravery of their nation. The King of Cacongo, who calls himself the protector and sovereign of the Jagans, cannot depend on the assistance of this nation, unless he gives them proofs of his esteem; for they will

will not receive from him unlimited commands. He has indeed, in his own kingdom, far more warriors, yet he can do but little injury to this small nation from its situation on mountains, in woods, and difficult passes. They are accused of being much addicted to robbery, and even cannibalism; but I saw not the least trace of either, and even here it was told me, that their neighbours, the Monomotapans, plundered whatever they could, and ate the flesh of their prisoners. Hospitality is universal: the stranger is presented with the best which the country affords; and the traveller who trusts himself to the protection of this nation may be assured that they will never do him an injury.

They acknowledge neither king nor priest, leading a life of simplicity, and according to nature. If water fails in any part they move northwards, particularly to an arm of the river Bambo, which flows all the year. The children grow up without any instruction, and their education is left entirely to themselves. The employment of the men, the chase excepted, is very insignificant; for the women gather the wood, keep up the fire, and collect the fruit. Neither mats nor shirts are made here; their beds are of straw, and they go entirely naked. Most of them lie very often
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the whole day, through inactivity, on their couches; and I can confidently assert, that they are the laziest people of all Africa. I never saw a religious ceremony here, nor could I learn that any were observed.

The Chief begged me to stay with him as long as I should remain here; he used to say, "Stay stranger; whilst you are here it goes well with us, and you will never hunger." The last circumstance was not exactly true; for in the very hot weather they scarcely eat any thing, but stretch themselves out on their straw and indulge in laziness; at such times I was obliged to go in search of fruit and roots for myself; and, that I might not equal them in idleness, I made an acquaintance with a young woman who carved figures on whitened bones. These bones she covered first with moistened sand, which was exposed to the heat of the sun; after this they were scraped, and she carved on them with stones all sorts of figures. She worked with such dispatch and dexterity, that many a moderate artist would perhaps find it difficult to surpass her figures. The sexual connection is never denied here to any one, for it is considered as a natural want which no one should oppose. I remained with this good tempered people to the end of the year,
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went sometimes with them against their enemies, and my share of the plunder was two war-buffaloes* and a half, which were killed for our festive dinner, in honour of the victory. My resolution to proceed on my journey affected most of the inhabitants of the village with sorrow; and when I requested their assistance to put me on the right road to the kingdom of Maffi, the greater part offered me their services to conduct me to their borders. They gave me also dried roots and a water-bottle† for my journey.

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* I should have described these buffaloes before. They are prepared for their destination very early; their horns are split in many places, and afterwards bent in various directions, so as to give the animal a terrible appearance. They are so well taught, that on being spurred on by the man, who either sits on their back or goes behind them, with a sharp-pointed stick, they rush forwards with the utmost speed. In this manner they are urged on against the enemy, where they do infinite mischief, by tossing about with their many ended horns every thing that comes in their way. In general a piece of elephant's skin doubled is hung on their head and breast, partly that they may not receive so much hurt from javelins, and partly that they may not be terrified by the number and attacks of the enemy.

† These bottles are made from the entrails of elephants, rubbed in the ashes, and dried in the sun. They serve for water vessels, particularly on journies; when filled they are tied round the body, and to make the water drink fresh, they are hung

On the 2d of December, 1786, I set off with two guides, and soon reached Tomoh, a village with about sixty huts, where we breakfasted, and then ascended the Akafi mountain. At mid-day we came to Groh, which might be called a town, as it contains three hundred huts, in general well constructed, and is situated on a fine fruitful plain. I staid here that day, as I wished to spend as much time as possible with my guides, who were here to take leave of me. The Majka gave us a good lodging, and collected every thing eatable in his hut for us. The next morning, as soon as my guides had set off for their homes, I proceeded on my journey, through a wilderness three leagues in length, the thickest that I had hitherto seen: many times I was obliged to creep for a hundred paces or more under bushes closely grown together, and to crawl sometimes with my whole length on the ground. In five hour's time I came to Mahhala, the border village, on a small stream, which, flowing from east to west, rushes down a long chain of mountains, empties itself in the lake above-mentioned, Sohmoja. The village contains between sixty and seventy huts,

hung up in the air between two sticks or trees, that the water may be cooled. Such a bottle is of great use to a traveller, who can always thus procure himself a cool draught.

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lies in a grove on an eminence, and has most beautiful fruit-trees, particularly palm-trees, and in its neighbourhood some tamarind trees. Of the last the inhabitants do not know how to make any use.

My host here, the chief of the village, was a furly, and as it seems a covetous fellow; he gave me some water and plums, and threw down before his hut a bundle of straw for my night's lodging. Unluckily in the night a violent thunder-storm came on, accompanied with a deluge of rain. My host was so vexed that he scarcely knew what to do; but as I was wetted to the skin, he let me come into his hut. At day-break I set off, travelled eastward through the wood, and came at last to the above-mentioned chain of mountains on the borders of the territory of Mugar, which the people of the country call Minto.*

Minto is a small country, thinly inhabited: the people are ill-mannered, giving themselves little concern about the traveller whose language they

* Their nation is placed by all geographical-writers too far to the north; for though they lead a roving life, the track of land over which they wander, is assuredly not three hundred German miles in length in the two kingdoms.

do not understand, or they will treat him ill from the silly prejudice, that he who speaks differently from themselves means to affront them. They are little and disagreeable in their persons, in no esteem with and ill-treated by their neighbours, the above-mentioned nation, and by the Massians. Little as they are, they are the most skilful of all the neighbouring nations in the chase of elephants, by whose skins and teeth they procure their livelihood. The collective number of inhabitants does not amount to more than three thousand, of whom the greater part live in the mountains in holes, so surrounded by bushes, that a traveller may pass a dozen times without seeing them. Strangers who can converse with the inhabitants, and understand the language of the country, are kindly received and treated with hospitality. Though their only meat is the flesh of elephants, they understand so many different methods of dressing it, with various kinds of herbs, that it is excellent food. They cut it, for example, into thin pieces, which they lay in brine, rubbing in afterwards salt and herbs: they are left in this manner for some days, and then hung up for some time in the air, after which they are placed on the fire and dressed slowly, and taste better than our Westphalia hams. A part only of the mountain is theirs, the rest belongs to the Massians. Their language is different from that of both
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the neighbouring nations, by whom theirs is not understood, yet they themselves understand the language of both countries. They have a shock head, flat nose, large eyes, pouting lips, and sharp teeth, whose points they sharpen still more with stones. Their complexion inclines more to the yellow than to the black, and they burn all sorts of figures into their foreheads and cheeks. They go entirely naked, and are both very lazy and very lascivious. Their whole land may be travelled over in half a day.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th, I had a very bad path through forests and over mountains, saw neither villages nor men, and suffered terribly from thirst. Nature provided me with food, for here are carob trees in great plenty. There is also abundance of game, particularly chamois and wild boars; of which the latter gave me great anxiety, and I escaped from their attacks by taking speedy flight and climbing the trees. I found a boar's fang eight inches long and three inches thick, which would be taken by every one for most beautiful ivory. On the 7th towards evening I reached Sowohm, a village very ill built, and consisting of thirty huts, lying in a row from north to east between some small eminences. Here the inhabitants were very curious; for they assembled on my arrival and stepped

stepped round me, some feeling my mouth, others handling my head, and I was obliged to submit, like a strange animal, to their examinations. I did not understand a single word of their language, but mine was understood by some of them. Not one of these people probably had seen white men, which may easily be conceived, since the many mountains and almost impenetrable woods prohibited access to them. I should think it an undertaking, which would amply be repaid, to form a commercial company to explore this nation, in whose mountains in all probability great treasures are hidden. They could make no resistance, for they are much too weak; and besides, by good treatment they might easily be managed. Skins and ivory would be the chief articles, which might be conveyed in six days in small vessels down the river Zambeze, to the former Portuguese fort St. Martial, and thence other wares might be carried back in return.

The Mumkaham, the present King, was elected in the year 1783. Maffi, the King from whom the nation takes its name, has been dead these fifty years, and since him fourteen Kings have held the reigns of government. The King is as poor as any of the inhabitants; his pre-eminence consists in declaring war and peace, and he is the supreme in
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leading his subjects in the field. They have neither priests nor under officers. In the whole country, which is about six days journey long and four wide, there is not a single town, but several villages and two hamlets, of which the one called Mamham, containing about four hundred miserable huts, is the royal residence; the other, called Muhokahu, is smaller. Every moon a market is held at Mamham, which is two days journey from the lake of Mamre, whither numbers come from all the country, partly for the sake of trading, and partly to obtain from the King an audience, which is given only on those days, and in the open market-place. Muhokahu is situated in the northern part of the country, on an arm of the river Zambece. The villages are very ill built, and the houses thatched with straw. In war this nation cannot bring so many men into the field as many other nations; they have no weapons of iron, but in their stead wooden war axes and javelins, which they arm at the point with bone. Here I again found sheep, which are highly prized; and, that they may not fall a prey to the tygers, they are taken at night into the huts. Hostile excursions are made even from this country, but only towards the north, against the Melekgos and the Wahyoys, who are their neighbours in that quarter.

With their neighbours on the east-side, the Malhihas and Halogros, who are likewise robbers, they maintain a good understanding. Of their manners, customs, &c. I shall speak in describing those of other nations, who in these particulars agree with them.

On my arrival at Sowohm, I was taken before the judge of the place, an old man with grey hairs. None but old men are appointed to the functions of judges. After these had departed who came out of curiosity to gaze at me, or to touch me with their hands, I was entertained in the judge's house with a mess of flour and water, and was then directed to rest for the night on a bundle of straw that was laid in a corner. Having had little sleep for the last three days, I threw myself down on the straw and slept soundly. Towards noon I awoke, with a burning and itching all over my body; and observing my skin, I saw with surprize that it was covered with red spots. Upon examining the place on which I had slept, I found that it swarmed with sand-lice*. I shewed my old

* These insects are white, and rather larger in size than our common pishires. They deposit their eggs in the sun; and these are within four and twenty hours hatched by the heat. When the human body is bitten by them, the sores are anointed with the fat from the foot of the elephant.

host what I had suffered ; he laughed, gave me a tortoise-shell containing fat, and bade me anoint myself. As I took it, the buffalo's paunch in which I kept my money and gold-dust, and which I had fastened under my arm, dropped to the ground. I took it up as fast as possible, but not without being observed by the old man. Though very old and feeble, he was as active and nimble as any youth, and he sprang to snatch it from me. I turned myself about, and stepping quickly to the door, hid it in some straw. I then held in my hand some shells which I had about me, and coming in pretended that those were what I had before dropped on the ground. He snatched at these; and I easily suffered him to take them, that he might not suspect me to possess any thing of greater value. I remained all day within the hut, in order to avoid being troubled by the people, who crowded to see me. The old man saw that I had not quite recovered from my fatigue, and that I had still a number of sores on my body : he therefore would not allow me to be troubled by the curiosity of his neighbours. And though I gave him but twenty shells for my entertainment, he believed that those were all I had, and treated me with all possible kindness, giving me a cup of milk with two handfuls of flour, by which I was greatly refreshed. Pleased with this apparent honesty and kindness, I

took out a guilder and gave it to him. Overjoyed at this, he went out to his neighbours. I was much alarmed in his absence, lest he should have gone to consult with them about plundering me. He returned; and I then hinted to him my suspicions with respect to his behaviour: but he smiled, and bade me lay aside all fear. It however happened as I had suspected. On the following night, while I was on my couch asleep, I suddenly felt my mantle pulled from about me. I would have cried out; but one of the robbers pressed my breast with his knee, and I was obliged to be quiet. I should probably have been strangled, if it had not been for the old man, whom my groans awakened, and who by his clamours drove away the thieves. I lay half dead; and the old man stood trembling by my side. A number of other persons hearing his cries, came running into the hut, and asked what had happened? The old man told them what he thought proper, and shewed them where the thieves had made their way into his hut. It was perceived that they had entered by a breach which they had made in the back part. Four men were set as a guard round the cottage till the next morning. When morning came, strict search was made to find the thieves; I know not with what success. If discovered, they probably bribed the old man who was judge to let them off with impunity.

nity. I was glad to have thus saved my money and my life; and though sick and feeble, set out at mid-day, and proceeded on my journey. My good old host accompanied me, for an hour's walk; on the way, and then with many kind wishes bade me farewell. I quickened my pace, and in order to ascertain whether I had any reasons for further suspicion, I ascended a hill, but could see no person in pursuit of me. In my anxiety and alarm, I had brought neither victuals nor water; and here was neither fruit nor spring. I was tormented with thirst, and had no means to allay it. At last, I put some pebbles into my mouth, and pursued my way. Towards evening I came to a pleasant plain, but which was destitute of fruit and water. I fell to the ground, overcome by faintness, and looked for immediate death as an inevitable event. This idea was too horrible to my imagination, to allow me to sleep: I sprung up and tried to proceed. Ere I had gone an hundred paces farther, I found some reeds in full growth. One of these I hastily plucked, and chewed the lower part of it, which though bitter to the taste, refreshed me exceedingly. Sleep now came upon me. I fell on the ground, and slept undisturbed till next morning. I then renewed my journey over a desert of no great extent, and by noon the following day reached the village of Kamoho. The heat was excessive;

and I found nobody out of doors. I however entered the first hut I came to, and asked for something to drink. No one answered me, nor made me an offer of any thing; but all seemed to be greatly frightened at my appearance. I made trial at several huts with the like ill success. Once more drawing aside the mats at the doors, I called bitterly in all the different languages I could think of, *Give me water! give me water!* A young man at last came out, and accosting me with great civility, by signs, asked me to come nearer. I let him know that I wanted something to drink. He comprehended my meaning, uttered a few words which were to me unintelligible, and within a very few minutes presented me with some flour and water. The neighbours hearing the noise, looked out of their huts to see what was the matter, and observing me, gathered about me. These by-standers shewed great compassion for me: one brought milk, another meal, others fruits and roots, for my refreshment. Some took me into their huts, in which there were rank nauseous smells too strong for my senses; so that I returned to rest myself out of doors. I then continued my journey to the north-east, towards the place of the King's residence. But before setting out, I procured a leathern bottle, and took it with me full of fresh water. Had I not been so feeble,

feeble, I might have reached Ahmigo in six hours ; but was obliged to pass the night in a forest, in constant alarm on account of the danger from the wolves, tygers, lions, and buffaloes with which it was inhabited.

On the 11th I proceeded among low bushes, and over steep hills, and after I had walked for some hours, came to a beautiful plain, in which, to my great joy, I perceived a spring of water bubbling up among the sands of the soil. Here, therefore, I rested about an hour and refreshed myself. After my thirst was allayed, I began to feel the gnawings of hunger to such a degree, that I even fainted and fell as I attempted to rise, and proceed on my journey. When I was somewhat recovered, I looked about for traces of human footsteps, but could perceive none. I went on therefore in a very melancholy mood toward the north, when I saw before me a small hill. Having reached it, I sought about for fruit, but could find none : and the roots of the plants growing on it were not fit to be eaten. I found at last a great land-tortoise ; and this, though I had no means of kindling a fire, I took on my back and carried with me. After I had gone on for another hour, I resolved, in the extremity of my hunger, to kill it and devour it raw. Just then I perceived behind

me a troop of elephants. This made me to forget at once both my thirst and hunger, and I took to flight in all haste. Towards evening I discovered a path traced by human footsteps, in which, though it was now dark, I walked on with all my strength. I came at last to a few cottages, where seeing none of the inhabitants, I fate me down on the sand before that which I first came to, waiting till some person should appear. At length came an old woman, who, after gazing on me a few moments, uttered some words in a low voice, which brought about me to the number of twenty young men and old. I asked them for food; but they understood me not. I then used signs to let them know what I wanted. They understood my meaning, and brought me some flesh and water. The flesh had, however, so noisome a smell, that but for my extreme hunger I could not have tasted it. I then roasted my tortoise on the fire where these people were preparing their evening meal, ate a part of it, and laid me down to rest on a wolf's hide which they spread for me. In the morning I ate the remains of my tortoise; and having procured from those good people another bottle of water, again proceeded on my journey. By noon I reached Muhotahu. It is a market-town, situate on a small hill, and consists of an hundred and sixty houses of very poor appearance. It stands, however, on
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an arm of the river Zambeze, in a fertile territory. The cottages stand in three rows; and in the middle is a sort of temple. Here were three old men who held the distinction of being Galygos of the place. These men, however, did not entertain strangers, who were left to look out for a place of hospitable reception for themselves. A young man took me to his hut, and there treated me with great kindness. I exceedingly regretted my inability to make answer to the questions of these good people, in a language that they might understand.

On the 13th I continued my journey towards the country of the Melekgohs and Mahyhoys, who are represented as being very barbarous and cruel nations. At noon I reached the village of Domoh, where, in a commodious hut, I rested for several hours. Then, through a fertile country, by a way that was shaded by trees, but without seeing any wild animals, I travelled on to Bathym. There I passed the night; but, not putting confidence in the people, could not sleep.

On the 14th and 15th I travelled on, by a rugged road, over rocky hills, through Hata, a mean village. On the 15th, towards evening, I entered a plain forming the boundary of the district. I met
here

here with two of the people of Mathiana gathering wood ; but at the sight of me they fled away. I hastened after them, and within half an hour reached the village in which they lived. It consists of about sixty cottages, built in a circular arrangement, and inclosed by a small wall, within which the inhabitants have introduced water from a mountain-spring, which is somewhat brackish. To hinder this water from being heated by the rays of the sun, they shade it with a thatching of reeds, forming a roof over the wall.

The inhabitants of the territory of Mathiana are in all about eight thousand souls. Their country is in length equal to a journey of two days and a half, and is accounted as part of the kingdom of Massi. They support themselves by rapine, and are often engaged in enterprizes of pillage on the coast. They are low in stature, but stout, with large eyes, thick snubbed noses, and thick lips. Their bodies are of a dark copper-colour. They keep their hair long, and go naked. The whole nation have but one Chief, who is called Killhotonca, is the judge in all differences, and also executes the functions of their priest. These people are active and industrious. A fourth part of them go out upon their military enterprizes ; another fourth part go a hunting ;
and

and the rest are usefully employed at home in their villages. I saw here some fine cattle, which I learned had been taken as booty from other nations. Travellers, however, are not plundered or otherwise injured, but are treated with kindness and hospitality by these people. Their language has a great resemblance to that which is spoken on the coast of Congo. When I entered the village, several of the inhabitants came up with clubs in their hands, and called to me in a loud voice. I allowed them to come close to me; and then, in the dialect of Congo, informed them that I was a stranger and their friend, and wanted nothing but refreshment and a night's lodging. An old man drawing near, viewed me with a keen eye, and said—"If you be not a Christian, come with us." I followed without reply, and was conducted to his hut, where he seated me beside himself on a bundle of reeds, and asked the particulars of my travels. To what I said he listened with attention, then bade them give me some meal and water. Those who stood around were surprized to see with what eagerness I devoured what was given me, and said to one another—*He must have been long without food!* but offered me nothing more. The old man asked if I had no present to give him; but I put him off till next morning, saying, that I wished to go to sleep. He then dismissed

dismissed the rest to their own dwellings, and assigned me a place in his hut, where I could sleep quietly. In the morning I privately took a guilder out of my purse, and gave it to the old man by whom I had been thus entertained. He thanked me for it, taking both my hands and shaking them. At my departure he gave me a handful of meal, and set me on my way. I travelled eastward, crossed over a hill to a village consisting of forty huts, where I procured a few handfuls of meal, and then continued my journey. On my right and left, however, I saw other villages, which, as it was not evening, and as I had sufficient supplies of meal and water, I did not choose to visit. This I found reason to repent of when it began to grow dark, and I saw no more habitations to which I might retire for the night. I had then no resource but to pass the night in the open air, exposed to the attack of whatever beasts of prey might be around. Though the moon did not shine bright, yet I renewed my journey before the morning, and by sun-rise came to a hamlet of sixteen cottages. At the distance of twenty paces from these dwellings, as I saw nobody near them, I sat myself down, to wait till the inhabitants should come out. I fell asleep. When I awoke, I found myself in a cottage, and bound. I was struck with terror, and felt for my purse,

purse, which was safe under my arm. I then looked around the cottage within which I was confined, but saw in it no men, nor any thing in any degree remarkable. I then lay still and slept till evening. Awaking, I saw in a small recess near me, a female. I stood up and asked her for some water, which she readily gave me. I next asked her for food, and was answered, that I should have it when her father returned from hunting. I then asked, how I had come into the hut, and the girl told me, that her father and brother had brought me in, that I might not be seized by the tygers,* which came often to the very doors of their cottages. The father and brother coming in soon after, welcomed me kindly, and gave me flesh, milk, and meal. Although it was now evening, I sat me down before the hut to gratify the curiosity of the people of the village; and after I had answered their enquiries, I was rewarded with flesh, milk, and meal, which I carefully took into the hut, to be there kept for me.

* The tygers, unless provoked, seldom attack an European; the Africans, however, have great reason to keep upon their guard. Of this I saw some instances. The most likely reason for the distinction is, that the Africans rub their bodies with fat, the smell of which attracts the tygers.

On the 21st I went on, with provisions for two days. By noon I came to an arm of the river Zambece, on which stood a few huts. I was not tempted to halt long at this place, but passed on into the kingdom of Juhkodego, named in the maps Monoemugi; and after an hour's walk arrived at the village of Awakana. The kingdom of Juhkodego, or Monoemugi, is from south to north about seventeen day's journey in extent; from west to east, about thirteen day's journey. It is in figure a long square, on its east side borders on Abyssinia: on the south side, on the kingdom of Monomotapa; on the west, on the kingdom of Massi; and on the north, on the territory of King Majaphar (Mangas). The river Zambece, which divides near the town of Juhkora, into five arms, likewise intersects this territory, and at the distance of half a day's journey from the town of Zambre is expanded into a great lake, which is of the same name as the town. This territory is intersected by a double range of mountains, extending from north to south, on which are great forests and wild beasts innumerable. These mountains afford much saltpetre, which is not however put to any important use by the people of the country. On account of the horrid heat, and the sandy nature of the soil, little grass grows here; and the fruit trees which thrive

thrive well in most other parts of Africa prove here stunted and barren. Water-melons, gourds, Turkish-corn, millet, and pease, the fruit of a certain tree, are the chief produce of this district. Here are fish, tortoises, &c. in great abundance, particularly in the lake already mentioned. Buffaloes and sheep are not bred in this country, but are procured in exchange from the people of Monomotapa, for hides, ivory, and saltpetre. The inhabitants are of two different races: 1st. The Misahomi, the old inhabitants, distinguished by wearing aprons of palm-leaves, by plaiting their hair, by living in willing submission to their priests, and by marrying only within their own community. 2d. The Jahkodegi, or Monuemugianese, who go quite naked, rarely covering even their nudities with a palm-leaf, wear the hair long and flowing loosely, have flat noses, thick lips and small eyes. Both these people and their neighbours, the Massianese, are accustomed to scratch on their cheeks a diversity of figures with the bones of fowls and fishes. Both nations are of middle stature, use the same language, and excel as soldiers and hunters, but are much given to sloth, and often lounge in their huts for days and nights together, without stirring to do any thing. The repairing of the huts, and the culture of the ground, is left to the women. At marriages

marriages, the priests practise a number of odd ceremonies, which they conclude with blessing the young couple. It is accounted heinously criminal for a man to part from his wife; nor is this ever allowed but in the case of barrenness. A barren wife may be abandoned to common prostitution, or sold or bartered away as a slave. Marriages are celebrated in the following manner. When a young man has chosen a maid for his bride, he goes to her parents and demands her, who do not refuse him without the weightiest reasons. If he obtain his bride, she does not leave the dwelling of her parents, but must work mats of reeds, till the old people fix upon a place for his hut, find wood and palm-leaves, and erect the new habitation. The bridegroom, meanwhile, is not idle, but goes a hunting with his father. Against the day of marriage, which is usually the sixth after that on which the consent of the bride's parents was obtained, he must produce the skin of some beast of prey killed by himself, and the carcasses of two deer for the marriage-feast. The hide of the beast of prey is hung upon the new-built hut: and the young man is henceforth acknowledged to have attained to manhood, and to have become fit to be a husband. If in the first chase he fail to procure the hide of a beast of prey, then a new and more distant day is fixed for the wedding,

wedding, and the young man goes a second time out a hunting. When the wedding-day arrives, the parents and friends of the young couple assemble at the new-built hut, make a fire in it, and roast the two deer whole. While this is doing, the young couple must not be present, but must go to the priest and abide with him till the flesh be roasted, when the guests go to bring both them and the priest with songs of joy to the new hut, and before the fire. The priest takes in his hand two stalks of Turkish corn, goes before the young pair, and cries as loud as he can, all the guests joining him. In this manner they pass three times round the fire and the hut, then they stand in a circle round the fire, and the priest lays the two stalks of Turkish corn on the fire till they be roasted, then gives to the bride and bridegroom, to each one of the stalks, with most of the grains upon it; the rest of the grains he distributes to the people standing around. The corn is used to represent the fruitfulness of the marriage-bed of the young couple, who are to have as many children as there remain grains on the stalks which they receive from the priest. The distribution of the rest to the persons around, is intended to signify, that to distant posterity they and their progeny are to be as closely united, as the persons standing in the ring. The company now sit down,

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and the roasted deer are set before the priest, who gives the hearts of the animals to the bride and bridegroom, and then leaves the rest to help themselves at their pleasure. The company then dance the whole night; and with this festivity the wedding-entertainment ends. The men are permitted to have as many concubines as they please. But a woman if caught in adultery, is put to death. Few have more than one wife, by whom, in a space of twelve or fourteen years, they have rarely more than three or four children. The women do not suffer much in child-bearing; and in a few hours after that event, are again fit for their usual work. Till their sixth year, both boys and girls remain under the care of their mother. At that age the boys begin to receive instructions from the priests, and to go out a hunting with their fathers. The girls remain with their mothers, seldom receiving instructions from the priests; as for them this is not accounted necessary. The religion of the country is Paganism, to which the sun and moon are objects of worship. They celebrate feasts at every change of the moon, after every victory obtained over their enemies, at the election of a new King, and upon the slaughter of any beast of prey that has been exceedingly formidable and destructive. The King is supreme ruler, having unquestioned power of life and death over all his subjects. If any one be condemned to death, for what others think

think a slight venial crime, the priests say, *It is the will of God!* and this quiets all murmurs. The King maintains great state; and when he goes abroad, is attended by a train of four, five, or six elephants. When he travels, he rides on a spotted buffalo, which is led by two of his most trusty servants. In the town he rides usually on a zebra. On these occasions he is attended on each side by twenty officers, walking on foot. Although the priests have great influence over the people, yet they dare not intermeddle in the government. The army, as every man is a soldier, consists of between forty and fifty thousand infantry, and has the reputation of bravery. In war the buffalo is used, and they live in a constant state of warfare with the neighbouring nations. Christians are not tolerated in this country, as they are accused, and perhaps not without reason, of having attempted privately to seize the sovereignty. The Portuguese were on this account driven out in the year 1763, and their return for ever prohibited. The officers are at the same time judges in towns and villages; but affairs of any importance are referred to the King. Every stranger, who does not confess that he is a Christian, may travel in security through the country, will be very well treated, and in general entertained without expence. Travellers, who are known to be Christians, are conveyed from one village to another, and must pay for every thing they use.

As I came to Awakana, I was furrounded by the inhabitants, who were curious to see me, and treated me in a very friendly manner. I was questioned by one well acquainted with the Congo language, whether I was a Christian? As soon as I had denied it, they brought me meal and water in plenty, and prepared for me a good night's lodging.

From the 22d to the 24th my road was very good, and in all the villages which I passed thro', or in which I spent the night, I was well entertained. On the 25th I came to the lake of Zambre, and passed the night in Keha, a village three leagues west of the city of Zambre. Here I was taken into the hut of the judge, who was an officer, and hospitably received. He behaved very politely, sent on my account to the city for an interpreter, who understood the Congo tongue, and when he knew the purport of my journey, requested me to make use of his services. I was placed on a straw-mat close to him to sleep on, and on the next morning he accompanied me to Zambre (or Zembre).

Zambre contains about four hundred huts, and from fifty to sixty houses. The first are of wood and rushes, the last of mud and flint. The King's palace, which is built like the houses, of mud and flint,

flint, is situated on the south-east side of the town, and is surrounded with a flint wall. The city forms a triangle on the right bank of the river Zambre, has two principal and three cross streets, and is guarded by a wall only from the west to the north. The houses are one story high, as is the palace also; the eight temples in the city are of rushes and wood, but one in the palace is constructed with mud and flint. Most of the inhabitants are exceedingly dirty, and work only from extreme necessity, except the potters and smiths, of whom the last are employed by the King, and make his arms.

The palace is long, and of a quadrangular form. The court-yard, where the weapons are kept, has a guard of fifty men, who are however employed in various services. The King has only two apartments, which are on the east-side of the court, has but one wife, who cannot approach to him by day, and his two high-priests are under the same prohibition. In the day-time he is employed with the officers* in civil and military affairs, hears the com-

* The officers are distinguished from the other inhabitants by their shirts of zebra skins, and a turban of jackal skin, which is adorned with bones of shells. When they come to the royal residence, they are entertained at the King's expence: but besides this, neither officers nor common men have the least pay. The plunder they get in war they keep for themselves, and wherever they go as enemies, they carry off every thing of value, even the stakes of the huts.

plaints, petitions, and representations of his subjects, and converses with travellers who visit his kingdom. In the evening audience is given to the priests, who must however retire as soon as the Queen is announced. Entrance is free to every one, and strangers must particularly come to the King on their arrival at the city, or who intend to travel through the land, and beg his protection. He is punctual, active, warlike, and is both respected and dreaded by his most powerful enemies.

When I came to the city, the guard questioned me whence I was? My guide replied, that I was a stranger, and he had undertaken to announce me to the King. The guard considered a few moments, and then let us pass. I expressed my surprise to the interpreter, who also came into the city with me, that the guard should take time to consider, when I was under the protection of an officer; but I learned that the guard were held in very high respect, and that it was in their power to have detained me, and to have announced my arrival to the King. When we came to the palace another guard took me in custody, and notwithstanding the representations of the officer, would not permit me to pass. The officer went instantly to the King, announced my arrival, and brought back to the guard a piece of wood, on which some marks

marks were burnt, and I was set at liberty, and went into the palace. The King received me at the door of his tent with a stout club, which impressed me with terror; but his friendly good-tempered countenance soon calmed my fears, and his future conduct entirely composed me. His hair was frizzled, and adorned with shells. The lower parts of his body were covered with a palm leaf, the upper part was entirely naked. He spoke to me by an interpreter, though he himself understood most of the words in my language.

Q. Whence came you?

A. I cannot exactly say, for I do not know the name of the country on which I was shipwrecked.

Q. Are you a Christian?

A. No; I am an Egyptian, and wish to go back into my own country.

Q. How long have you been on your journey?

A. Fourteen changes of the moon.

Q. Is that the dress of your country, which you now have on?

A. No; this cloathing I had from the South Caffres.

Q. Did you travel without molestation through so many countries?

A. Yes; no one did me any harm, as they saw that I was poor; and they gave me every where flesh, pease, meal, milk and water, and took me

willingly into their huts, that I might sleep at my ease.

Q. You shall be treated here in the same manner: but I understand your language, so that you cannot be far from your own country?

A. If I were to speak the language of my own country you would not understand me; the language I am now speaking I learned of the King of Angola, who took care of me when I was ill, and detained me with him till I was perfectly recovered.

King. You shall have my protection and support as long as you please. Come, sit down.

A mat was immediately brought for me and I sat down, and soon after a pot of milk was presented to me; and upon my answering to their questions that I was hungry, some meat was brought for me. About evening I was permitted to retire, and shewn into a hut near the palace, where I remained till the next morning, when I was again introduced into the royal presence. The King carried me into his hall, and shewed me his treasures, which he prized very highly, though they were of trifling value: such as some engravings, which had probably been there from the time that the Portuguese were in the country; two looking-glasses, a calendar of the year 1743; some leaves of printed paper; four little cannon, such as children

children play with, several insignificant wooden toys, and a wooden clock, that stood still and seemed to be falling to pieces. The King complained through the interpreter that the clock did not go now as it used to do, though he had taken all the pains possible to bring it into order.

As soon I was alone with the interpreter, I told him that I would try to put the clock in such a state that it should go again, if the King gave me permission. He ran away joyfully, and acquainted the King with my intentions. The King gave his consent, but ordered the interpreter to stay by me all the time, that I might not carry away any part of his clock. Hence I was constantly in the royal apartments to look after my work, which however went slowly on, as I had very little knowledge of clock-making. That I might not confound the different pieces, I marked each of them as I took it out with a number, and inscribed these numbers, for want of paper, in my journal, with charcoal and vermillion. On the next morning I began my work very early, and by the time that the King came it was almost all put together. I hung it up, and saw to my great joy, as well as that of the King, that it went. The King was amazingly astonished, and conceived that I must be a very capital artist, who could put to rights a machine
which

which none of his subjects would undertake to repair.

From this time I arose still higher in the royal estimation, was treated with the same fare as the King, and attended him every where. This afforded me an opportunity of visiting lake Zambre, whither the King went, both for shooting and fishing. It is in length three good days journey, contains forty small islands, stocked by an incredible number of birds, which are either taken or robbed of their eggs. The lake is of an uniform appearance, and is about a half day's journey in breadth in the middle, but only a quarter of a league at the northern extremity. The King keeps here a guard of two hundred men, who are to preserve the birds and fish for his use: but I learned that their best dishes were made of the fish and fowl which they took for themselves. In some maps this lake is put in the wrong place, that is, with its greatest part in the kingdom of Maffi; and by most geographers its length is made too great. They also place between the kingdoms of Maffi and Monoemugi a third lake, but notwithstanding much enquiry I could gain no intelligence of it.

Wherever I attended the King, I endeavoured to be useful to him in little matters, which were how-
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ever highly esteemed in his sight ; for example, I taught him some new methods of catching birds and fish, I made him a dial, I dressed his meat in a different way from that of the country, and made it taste better, and many other things. I became very intimate with most of the officers, was esteemed by them, and oftentimes taken into the councils : and they would even have been very well pleased, if I had gratified the King's wishes by accepting the place of an officer. To retain me with him and to bind me for ever, the King proposed a wife to me, but I declined the proposal. Three times I accompanied him with his army, assisted by my counsel and actions in several expeditions, and returned back highly honoured and esteemed. As I was now well acquainted with the language of the country, I could converse with the King without an interpreter, and could impart to him many an observation, which in the presence of a third person would have been improper. When the King went to his house of prayer, to perform his religious duties, I accompanied him, clasped my hands and prayed at the same time. This made him believe that I had embraced his religion, and he esteemed me so much the more, so that he would rarely be without me : as the greatest proof of his love for me, he gave me permission to eat in his presence with his wife, yet I was never permitted

mitted to be alone with her, nor could I enter her apartment, for that was not allowed to any other man.

After I had spent five months here, I was seized with a desire to travel farther, and I looked out for a proper opportunity to make known my wishes to the King. This soon occurred, as I was to attend him to the chace. Here I told him that I was resolved to go from him to my own home, to my kinsmen and friends, who were probably thinking that I was dead, and after comforting them and setting my family affairs in order, to return back to him, to end my days in his country, and by trusty service to make some return for the kindness which he had hitherto shewn me, and which I could never repay. He made no reply, but seemed to be sorrowful. In the evening, as I was supping with him, he led the conversation to my request, and said, "You really then wish to return to your friends?" I answered, "Yes; if I have your permission, and you require no payment for the many acts of kindness you have shewn me."—"I promised you (he replied) hospitality, and you owe me nothing; but I should be very happy if you would stay here." As I made some objections, he said at last, "You may go when you please. I will take care that you shall have a guide through

through my country, and that you shall be well received; but I beg of you to come back again soon, and you shall hold the first place in my friendship." After I had returned him thanks, he asked me when I would go? I replied, in three days time. He instantly ordered that they should, two days after, hunt a chamois, dress the hind quarter, and give it to me for my journey.

On the 28th of May, 1787, I left my friends, who were much affected on my taking leave of them, and travelled to the north-east. I had a guide with me, who carried my provisions, and was charged with my safety over the Akmah mountains, where the lions are numerous. On the first day we travelled through Serra and Mehar, two ill-built villages at the foot of the mountain, and took up our lodgings for the night at Jellah, a village containing eight or twelve huts, half way up the mountain. The inhabitants are very poor, have a league to go for their water to a valley, and possess very little fruit. They treated us with boiled tortoise, meal and water.

On the 29th, in the forenoon, we came to a saltpetre work, where ten men were employed. I examined it attentively, and found, at the depth of about two fathom, the richest saltpetre. About
eighty

eighty steps farther, under a hill to the north, a hot spring was shewn to me, which emitted a fulphurous smell, and was of a reddish colour. Here we rested ourselves, then ascended another part of the mountain, and arrived about evening at Etaham, a large village on the north side of the mountain, in which I counted about a hundred and forty huts. From this place we overlooked a flat three leagues in length, covered with fruit trees, and reed grafs, and watered on the west by a small arm of the river Zambece, which also glides along by the mountain. From this river also the inhabitants of the village must fetch their water, which, in the months of June and July, overflows, and inundates the whole neighbourhood. Before the inundation the inhabitants of the village dig large holes in the earth, not far from their huts, that when the river returns again to its own banks, the water may be retained for some time longer near their huts. We passed the night at the hut of an Awollo, or priest, who treated us very ill, and for our couch pointed out the bare ground to us. On the next morning my guide returned back, and I continued my journey over the plain.

Just as I saw Mufs, a village then very near to me, and was not under any apprehensions of danger, on a sudden a dreadful howl arose from
behind

behind me, and on looking round I perceived a herd of cattle galloping towards me, pursued by a number of wild dogs. I rushed forward with all my might to escape if possible from these dangerous animals, and succeeded, though not till I was entirely worn out and fainting from fear and anxiety. On reaching the village I fell to the ground breathless, and did not recover for an hour. The inhabitants ran up to me, had pity on my situation, and when I told them of the incident, they informed me, that in this tract of country I should be frequently liable to similar danger, as in the rainy season, or the overflowing of the waters, the cattle retire to higher ground, and are followed by the dogs. This was the precise time, when they were going to the higher lands. I began to consider whether it would be best to remain here, or to travel farther: I enquired how long the dogs would be in this neighbourhood, and was informed, that they would remain two months longer. I now began to lament that I had not previously made better enquiries, and that I had not staid two months longer with the King, my benefactor.

On the following morning I consumed the fragments of the meat presented to me by the King, and determined to go onwards. I set off instantly,
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examined the country, and resolved to go round to the east of a wood which I saw near me. I could have visited three villages in the direct road, which I saw on my right hand, but then I must have travelled through the wood. That night I was obliged to pass in a tree, and to be always on the watch, lest I should tumble to the ground. Very early I descended from my resting-place, and looked out for springs, but not finding any, endeavoured to quench my thirst with tamarinds. After a time the tamarinds produced quite the contrary effect, and I was so thirsty, that I would have drunk the most stinking water that could be produced. I was now so weakened that I could creep on but slowly, and every moment expected to become a prey to mad dogs. At every step I shrieked out, and then an immense multitude of baboons, such as I had not hitherto seen, made such a continual chattering, that I thought the hounds were at my back.

Without hurt, but weak and fainting, I reached Himogu in the evening, a village at which I proposed to rest and take care of myself, for I thought nothing more certain than to find good quarters, as I had the wooden stick marked with the King's signature to insure me a good reception from his subjects. I was, however, rejected by the first
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and second huts, and not without great entreaties received into the third. Many out of curiosity surrounded me, and accompanied me as soon as I entered the village, the children particularly thronging about me, and exclaiming, "Solleboa, Solleboa—a Christian, a Christian." The supper consisted of very stinking meal and bad water; and for a night's lodging I was shewn into a small hovel with four and twenty kids and goats, who all the night long were springing from one side to the other, and bruising me with many a tread. I left my miserable couch as tired as when I laid myself down; but just as I was on the point of quitting the hovel to go to the large hut, it began to rain, and a great storm blew up. I staid quietly contemplating the goats, and considering which way I should travel, when two claps of thunder roused me, and led me to look out at the door to see how long the tempest was likely to continue. Here I saw my host with all his family coming out of their hut, and in the utmost terror throwing themselves down with their faces to the ground. I could not look on this ceremony without smiling, for each screamed out, "Ollahaw jungo goh-libing—ye Gods, do not plunge us into the abyfs." A short time after, when the thunder-claps grew fainter, they arose up, stepped to me, and enquired whether I had not been calling upon the

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gods.

gods. I replied, "I do this every day; but I am not sad upon every storm, but cheerful, as it does good to my health." "Ah! (said they) if the gods were angry, and struck you with thunder, would that too be good for your health?" "The gods, (I answered) will not do this whilst I keep theirs and the King's commands. But ye will be punished by them, for ye have not obeyed their commands." They looked at me for some moments, when my host took me by the hand, led me into his hut, prepared a good breakfast for me of goats' milk, Indian corn, and a piece of boiled tortoise, and begged me to stay the whole day with him. I accepted the first proposal, his breakfast, but rejected the second; and, after filling my water-bottle, I travelled on northwards, visiting in my way three thinly inhabited villages. In the fourth village I passed the night, and was better treated than I expected, for the ten huts, in which there might be about thirty persons, looked very miserably, and betrayed the poverty of their inhabitants. I obtained here, however, a good piece of boiled tortoise, meal and good water, and they very carefully prepared for me a couch of reed-straw, of palm-leaves, on which I slept very soundly. The next day I made a day of rest, and accompanied my host, a friendly young man, to an adjacent plain, where I soon found four tortoises,

toises, two of which were instantly dressed, and the other two set apart for my journey.

From the 2d to the 5th of June I travelled over a small desert, where I did not see a person, but found fruit trees and good water, and was not attacked by any wild beasts. As I could here satisfy my hunger and thirst at proper times, I was strong enough in these four days to go over from eight and twenty to thirty German miles. I looked continually around me for villages, but discovered none, and should have found very few, as I learned afterwards, in a very great circuit, as the northern part of the country, through which I was travelling, was almost uninhabited.

In the evening of the 5th I arrived at Mofaku, a place with about eighty huts, built so far asunder, that it takes half an hour to walk through the place. Every one who was without the huts ran up to me, as soon as they saw me, and gazed at me: I presented to them the King's wooden passport, which should have encouraged them to hospitality, but they made no preparations to conduct me farther. At last I gave it to an old man; he looked on it, then gave it to another, and so it went in succession; and when the last had taken it into his hands, all the by-standers ran away,

and left me to myself. I ran at last after them, and demanded my passport, but before I came near to the huts, several came running to me, some bringing pure milk, others milk and water, others meal and meat, so that in a few minutes I had provision enough for a week. Sitting down by the nearest huts, I satisfied my hunger with the provisions before me, and took several draughts of milk. The standers-by were much astonished at the quantity I ate, and ordered more food and milk to be brought: but as I had sufficient, I forbade the order, and gave them to understand that I wished for a hut to sleep in. Several instantly offered to conduct me: I arose, followed them, and was conducted to the priest of the place, who welcomed me in the most friendly manner, shewed me a good couch, but would not let me sleep till midnight. He asked me a thousand questions, such as, whence I came, whither I was going, whether I was a christian, whether I had seen the king, and the like.

On the 6th, half a dozen men set off with some buffaloes, laden with earthen ware, for Gohamy, who encouraged me to go with them, which I did. We moved on very slowly, on account of the animals, who were very heavy laden, and arrived late in the evening at Gohamy. My comrades

rades fixed themselves on a green place in the middle of the village, where they set out their wares for sale. I staid by them, and slept undisturbed. The village consists of from eighty to a hundred huts, is situated in a beautiful valley, and shews, by the construction of the huts, the comforts of the inhabitants.

On the following day I examined the earthenware, which was indeed not quite so good as that of Europe. It is ill worked, dried in the sun, and smeared with the juice of palm and tamarind leaves, like our flower-pots, with this difference only, that they are of the same breadth at the top and bottom, and have a long ear or handle projecting from them. There were also plates and dishes, which were however very ill made.

On the 7th, I ascended the Border-mountain, which consists of two ranges of hills, running circularly from east to west, and in many places here and there have high hills joining to them. I travelled obliquely over them, and with great labour got over the first range. At Paakam I lodged with the overseer, who was also an officer, and was well received by him. As it rained very much, I staid upon his invitation three days there, and out of gratitude paid him a florin, and

changed another, for which I received three hundred shells. I made enquiries of the distance of the borders from this place, and was informed that the last place on them, named Bohlogom, was only a day's journey off.

CHAP. X.

Arrival of the Author at the First Border-huts of the Moobatans—History and Description of the Nation—On Account of the rainy Season, the Author was compelled to stay, under disagreeable Circumstances, in the Village of Myrob, when he travelled with some Buffalo-drivers from the Territory of Mossèguejos, on the East-side of the Kingdom of Monoe-mugi, who were going into the Kingdom of Otoba, over the River Druma, and by the Border-village Nahvat—Meets an Army of the Kinonians, separates from his Company, ascends a great Mountain, and comes to the Mophans, who live in Holes. Here he is well received, and presented to the King—Description of this Nation, their Manners, Customs, Country, and Constitution, their King, their Religion, and various remarkable Productions—Geographical Corrections—The Author purposes to travel in a Caravan to Guinea, and to go back to Europe—Journey through the Villages of Ohgothen, Uhwob, and Matoh, to Ocymoroh, the King's Residence—The Author is placed among the King's Slaves, escapes over sandy Deserts, ascends the Mountains of the Moon, and comes to the Womahans,

ON the 11th, after turning my back to the mountain, I reached Kohlogom, the last village in this kingdom, and consisting of two-and-twenty huts. Here I rested two hours, then travelled over the borders, and arrived about evening at some huts which were inhabited by the Moohatans. This nation is strong and warlike, inhabits a track of land in the kingdom of Monoemugi, on its borders, to whose King they are subjects. They inhabited formerly a different country under the dominion of the King of Muschako: but he wished to force his brother on them as prince, and to subject them to greater oppression. As he was very cruel, they revolted with some other nations, whom he attempted to rule over, fell upon him and murdered him. This enraged the King his brother, who levied an army to punish these nations; but on his first attack he was beaten and driven back. He now collected a much stronger army, and determined to root out and destroy all the rebels, who did not wait for his approach, but withdrew themselves under the protection of foreign kings. The Moohatans submitted in 1728 to the King of Monoemugi, who presented them with a miserable track of country on the borders, where hills and unfruitful vallies present themselves alternately. Their country is about two days journey

ney in length, and the number of inhabitants about sixteen thousand. In many things they have assimilated themselves to the Monoemugians.

They do not pay any taxes to the King, but assist him in war, and protect the borders which they inhabit from hostile invasions. Their chiefs named Bingpo are old men, who never march into the field, but give up the command of the army to persons younger than themselves. The nation probably derived its name from the King of Monoemugi, in whose language Moohaka means a stranger,

The two days that I spent in this little village, I was well provided with victuals, but not permitted to go into any hut ; for the inhabitants took me for a Christian. On the 14th I could travel only three leagues farther to some huts, for the waters, which owing to the rainy season rushed down from the mountains, were collected in the plains, and formed as it were a lake. I begged the inhabitants of those insulated huts to give me lodging for some days, promising them for each day sixty gawers or shells. They accepted my terms with pleasure, and I staid with them till the 24th. It rained every day, the wind blew strong from the north, and the waters increased. Here and there the cattle were
seen

seen swimming about till they were drowned. The inhabitants relate that they were driven down the mountains by strong torrents of rain, and plunged into the waters below. As a remarkable circumstance, I observed that in the strongest showers and tempests the heavens did not appear black with clouds, but of a fiery red. I was tired of waiting and idling, particularly as I was not permitted to live in the huts, but in a small hovel with the goats, and some days I saw only an old woman, who brought me my meals very sparingly of meal and four milk. More than once too I was deprived of this scanty food, for the woman set it down on the ground at the entrance of the hovel, and ran back as fast as she could. If I was not by at that time the goats attacked it, and as they were very ill fed, I was obliged to fast.

On the 24th I set off again, wading up to my loins in water, and after some hours of considerable risk reached a hill, the middle point between the huts I had left and the village Mytob. I rested there about an hour, surveyed the neighbouring country, then pursued my journey, and arrived in good health at Mytob. The inhabitants were much surprized that I should have attempted a passage through the water, and treated me with kindness. Here I remained till the 19th of the following

following month, for the floods were so much out, that if I had gone on I should have found my death in them. After I had been there some days, the conduct of the inhabitants was changed; they treated me no longer with respect, but thrust me to the farthest part of the hut among the goats, where at last, as this part was ill built, and the rain poured in, I was so wet through, that for a week my whole body was in perpetual moisture, and I fell into a fever. My misery now increased: they thought that mine was an infectious disorder, pushed me from one corner into the other, and threatened to turn me out of doors, lest, as they feared, I should infect the cattle near whom I lay.

The village consisted of six-and-thirty huts, and a temple, to which, as I was told, people travel from countries far and near, to the distance of thirty days journey. The place where the temple stands is supposed to be that where the holy King Amahratus of Jaga was murdered, and where the murderers were instantly destroyed by thunder-bolts*.

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* Whether this relation is agreeable to truth, I cannot ascertain. The story is differently told, but the substance is as follows:—The King of Jaga had invaded this country, taken and put

The whole country, as far as one could see, was flooded by an arm of the river Druma, and the water rose so high, that the huts were in danger of being overwhelmed. Fortunately the weather changed, the sun shone out again, and warm breezes enlivened the face of nature. I offered my host two florins for my entertainment, but he would not accept them, not knowing their value, so I gave him an hundred shells, with which he was better pleased.

On the 19th a great number of travellers arrived with buffaloes, from the territory of Mosseguejos,

put to death the King of Monoemugi. On his march into the enemy's country, he had said to his soldiers, " Murder all the enemy that resist you, and do not spare the children." These orders were given, because the Monoemugians had roasted alive some prisoners whom they had taken from his army. His army went on a little before him, and he followed it with a small escort. The fugitive Monoemugians, who had taken shelter in holes and woods, gained intelligence of these orders of the hostile monarch, hastened after him, took him prisoner with his small escort, threw his body like a log on the fire, and hurried away from it. The army soon missed their King, and on marching back found his miserable remains. As they were endeavouring to find out the murderers, they came to this temple, where they saw the murderers all dead except one, who was very much hurt. He related to them every circumstance, particularly that his comrades and he were punished by the gods for the murder of the pious King.

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on the east-side of the kingdom of Monoemugi, who were going into the kingdom of Otoba thence to fetch salt. These people were described to me as cannibals, but every thing that I could collect on the subject contradicted the report. On hearing that they were travelling northwards, I begged permission to travel with them, and they willingly consented. We set off on the 20th at day-break, before which time the buffaloes had been coupled together. An hour after we arrived at the above-mentioned river, where I was placed on a buffalo, who carried me safely over. We then turned round a mountain to avoid a sandy plain, and came to Nahvat, a village with sixty huts, where as usual I begged for provision. This was refused me, as it was scarce here, and I obtained only a draught of fresh water. The village is properly the border of the kingdom of Monoemugi, where on the left is the kingdom of Muschako, on the right that of Ortoba begins. We passed another river, and spent the night on a mountain, where I assuaged my hunger with two tortoises.

For several days we had not seen any wild beasts, but in this country they swarmed. In the night that we passed on the mountains, tygers and wolves were our visitors, and in the morning several lions approached us. This harassed the
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the caravan accordingly, and I had much to do to compose it. My fellow travellers were poor, living on fruits and roots, and frequently fasting a whole day, as at this season no fruit was to be found. They told me that they made this journey twice a year, in which they encountered many difficulties, fighting with wild beasts, and defending themselves against robbers.

Before noon we met an army of the Kinonians, a nation called Bamba in the maps, who were armed with javelins and battle-axes. They said that the Otobans had attacked them twelve days ago, burnt several villages, and slain above one hundred persons ; but they were now prepared to go against them in considerable force, and to chastise them. As these people were going away, I asked my comrades, whether as a stranger I could travel with tolerable safety in the territory of the Otoban ? They replied, that it was not advisable to attempt it ; but I should be assuredly safe as long as I was with the caravan : and the mountain, whence they fetched their salt, was only two days journey off, and then I must travel by myself. This day I kept with the caravan, as we did not pass through a village, but on the next morning I took leave, and turned to the west to a high mountain, for most of the plains were still covered

covered with water. I saw neither man nor beast the whole day, and found neither fruit nor roots, for the soil is too rocky to produce them, and I was obliged to lay myself down on the sharp rocks without satisfying my hunger.

On the following day the 23d, I came up to eight men at the end of the mountain, who were returning from hunting. When they saw me, they were determined to go forward, but I cried after them, for I was tortured by hunger, and to my great joy they stood still, asked me what I wanted, and who I was, and other questions of the same kind. When I had answered their questions, they turned to go away, as my cloathing did not please them, but I begged to accompany them, to which they at last consented. They conducted me to the western side of the mountain, where I saw a great number of men but no huts. I was soon however conducted to something better, for they led me into a hole, and I found that here were fifty of the same kind near each other. Roots, water, and a small piece of meat composed our supper, after which I laid myself down and went to sleep. Early in the morning I was desired by a voice at the mouth of the hole to come out, which I did instantly, and on coming out

out received some meal and water, and the neighbours ran together to see and to question me. Now was I obliged again to answer all the questions as I had done the day before, and to withstand the objections of various kinds made by the examiners. Some took me for a Christian, others for a Mahometan, others for a runaway slave, and each endeavoured on good grounds to maintain his opinion. Some proposed, that I should be sent to king Majaphar,* others, particularly the women, advised that I should be kept here as I looked white and nice. Some few at last were of opinion, that I might be a spy of another nation, and probably more might follow me, so that it would be best to put me to death, as a terror to those who were to follow me. To my great joy this proposition was rejected, and a grey-headed old man took me under his particular attention, saying, provide the stranger with food, treat him hospitably, and permit him to go away in peace. Hereupon he asked me, whither I wished to go? I replied to Egypt. I then told him that I should not originally at first have come into this country,

* This is the name of the king of this country, called in the maps Mufhako. I never heard the name of the country mentioned, but when they spoke of the inhabitants, they called them Mophans.

but as I had heard two days before that there was war between the two neighbouring nations, I thought it better to come this way, that I might travel in safety and without disturbance. I now begged him to procure me the liberty of proceeding on my journey. He answered, "this you shall have, but we must first send you to the king, to whom you may present your petition. For the present come to my hole, and be welcome to whatever I have." I was so much pleased with this honourable old man, that I spent three days with him, and on my departure presented him, out of gratitude, with a florin, for which, though he did not know its value, he testified great satisfaction.

The king of this country is despotic, and possesses a vast tract of land, ten days journey in length from east to west, and seven days journey in breadth from north to south. It abounds with mountains and eminences, but there are many fruitful plains, of whose produce the inhabitants do not understand the advantage. In the northern mountains there is gold; but the king does not search for it with his own people, but lets them out to his neighbour the king of Mohopharo for a yearly rent. Here is plenty of wood, and animals of all kinds: the zebra is domesticated, and its flesh

is considered as a very great delicacy. Among other fruit-trees there is one which bears a sort of apple, without seed, tastes like a citron, is the size of an hen's egg, and of a yellow colour : it grows on mountains, has long narrow lance-shaped leaves, and is about the height of a cherry tree ; the bark very much resembles that of the cinnamon : this, as well as the fruit, is collected in great heaps, and is used throughout all the year as a strengthener. The inkobak tree has a nutty fruit about the size of an egg ; has a long red bark, from which, in all probability, a good colour might be extracted. I perceived that earthen-ware was coloured with it, and that the colour did not lose its brightness in the fire. The kernel of the fruit is white, and tastes like cinnamon. The tree is about the size of our oaks, and bears all the year through fruit and blossoms. The leaves are like fig leaves, but far larger. In time of war the king can bring into the field from twelve to fourteen thousand men, good soldiers. Most of the inhabitants of this country live in holes, for they are too lazy to build huts or small houses. The king lives at very great expence, and in great state.—When he appears in public, in general fifty colomays or officers attend him. The oldest persons of each family determine the disputes in the family. The officers are either the sons of the royal concubines,

Bines, or those who have distinguished themselves in war, and are so numerous, that for every six men there is an officer.

The king is lord of every thing that his subjects possess, even of their wives. If he sees one that pleases him, he sends for her, and her husband follows with many thanks for the honour conferred upon him. Beautiful unmarried women must all be presented to the king before they are married: and it is esteemed a special mark of favour, if the king should bestow on an officer one of his eight hundred concubines, when he is tired of her.—The king is very much addicted to superstition, and is still more confirmed in it by the priests, of whom there are always six about him. Here also is to be seen, as in many European countries, the injurious influence of the priesthood over the state. No man, except the priests, is admitted, under pain of death, to the concubines. The king generally wears a long mantle of miserable red cloth, and has a large sword by his side. Most of the soldiers wear their swords, and short mantles made of goats' hair. In the whole country not a town is to be found, nor any such villages, as in the other neighbouring countries. Most of the inhabitants live in holes, some few in tents at great distance

from each other, and in no place except where lie the royal tents or holes are a hundred to be found together. Their dwellings are changed several times every year, and are fixed generally near the water, or in fruitful neighbourhoods. Their provision consists of millet, Indian corn, and goats' milk. Their religion is heathenish; the sun and moon are adored, and their religious services are performed in the open air, when the priests, around whom the people make a circle, direct the prayers, at which both they and the by-standers frequently prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground. There are no temples in the whole country: and except the king and the priests no one is allowed to have more than one wife.

They are too phlegmatic for the breeding of children, and four or five from the same married couple are considered as a very great rarity. At the birth of a child neither circumcision nor any other ceremonies are used. The dead are in general buried on high mountains, or placed under a heap of stones, with their faces to the east; and food, first blessed by the priest, is placed with them in the grave. The men are more addicted to laziness than the women, for, except when they are hunting, they lie inactive in their holes. The
women

women make tents and mantles of goats' hair*, manufacture pottery, dry hides, and do the household work. The pottery and the hides are disposed of to other nations in barter for utensils of iron.

The language of these people is nearly the same as that of Congo. Instead of A in the language of Congo, however, this dialect uses O. It prevails, with some slight diversities of dialect, as far as to the river Niger. The children go twice a day to receive instruction from the priests, in the open air.

On the 26th I left the village above mentioned, and under the direction of a guide, travelled toward the residence of the king. We journeyed to the north-west, passing over some hills, which lay in one continuous range. They were inhabited by Mophanese, who, when they heard that I was the king's stranger, suffered me to proceed on my way unmolested. In the afternoon my guide returned home; and I, following my direction, proceeded in the same straight line. Coming to a plain, however, which was still flooded, I was

* These are as fine as silk; and from the Cape to the Desert, the wool of the sheep is like dog's hair, and is rarely used.

obliged to pass on by a circuitous path for a short way. Towards evening, I came to a hollow place in which twenty men dwelt together; they thought me a slave from the king of Haphai,* and that I was going on a message to their own king. I was at no pains to undeceive them; as this notion of my character and business served to make them treat me so much the more kindly. They gave me abundance of meal mixed with milk and water, made a soft bed of skins; and next day conducted me an hour's walk forward on my journey. With difficulty I crossed two rivers by swimming, as they were at that time much swollen by the rains. I saw also lions on my way, some of which seemed as if they were coming to attack me. I therefore climbed up a tree, and waited till they were gone to a distance. They however followed till I approached a village; and even then, though pursued with cries and shouting, retired but slowly. Eastward from the path on which I travelled is a chain of mountains, that extends in a waving line to the Niger; I passed by the side of these mountains, and found on them saltpetre in

* In the maps, Haphai is marked by the name of Makoko and Anzeko: but it is there extended farther than it really goes towards the south.

abundance, with gold and copper ores, and only here and there some stunted trees. The people of this neighbourhood use reeds instead of timber; the reeds were to be seen in heaps before the village. Within half a day's journey of the residence of the king, I came to a village situated in a hollow: I went first to the priest, and asked him to entertain me for the night; but he refused, and only offered me a heap of straw, on which I might sleep out of doors. I went to other houses, where I was also denied: an old man, for fifty zempo, gave me some meal and flesh, and would have taken me into his house if he had not known that the priest refused to let me lodge in his. In vexation and ill-humour, I threw myself on the reeds, slept a little, and next morning, at a very early hour, continued my journey. By mid-day I reached the residence of the king, which stands on a hill, and was conducted into his tent. The king, who is a stout young man, came up to me, and asked whence I came, and whither I was going? When I had answered these questions, he said—"Thou art probably a Moor, and hast some private business, which thou dost not choose to declare. If I be right in my conjecture, thou shalt feel the weight of my resentment, but if it be otherwise, thou shalt travel through this country in perfect freedom and safety." Upon this I was taken into the tent of

the guards, where I found thirty foldiers, who behaved to me with civility : by the king's command I was supplied with flour, water, and flesh, and was treated in all respects as the king's guest. I remained under the care of the guard till the 6th of August, without being farther enquired after. On the 7th I had again to appear before the king ; he sat on the ground before the tent, with priests and foldiers around him. " Hast thou brought me no presents from thy native country ?" said he. " I have, as I said before, lost all," answered I. " Art thou a Christian ?" " No ; an Arab." " Thou saidst that thou wast not on thy right road ; what was thy purpose in coming into my country ?" " The nations, your neighbours, were at war with one another, and I did not think myself safe among them, therefore I came into this country, which I heard of at a great distance, as being famous for the virtue, genius, and valour of its inhabitants." " In my territories thou art safe ; but on the borders are robbers, who will seize and murder thee : I would, therefore, have thee to remain with me." " I will return after I have seen my brother, my sisters, my two wives, and my children." " Bring thy wives and thy children to me, I will give thee and them a tent : thou must however remain here a few days, for the plains are overflowed with water, and on the hills are multitudes of rapacious beasts

beasts of prey." I was sensible of the reasonableness of what he said; but I wished to go on forty miles farther, to Kammoh (Kururfa), whence I might proceed, when the floods were abated, with a caravan which goes every year to Guinea. Upon farther consideration, I thought it best to abide here till I might be able to proceed without endangering my life. In a few days I was able to make mantles and coverlids of goats' hair as well as the natives. The apparatus for weaving is here very different from that of Europe; instead of having treddles, heddles, and reeds, by which the threads of the warp are, in our weaving, moved up and down to receive those of the woof, the children are here taught, from early infancy, to move the divisions of the warp alternately up and down, while other persons insert the woof. Their pieces of cloth are, in length and breadth, from one to three ells; they spin the hair into threads with a distaff; the loom stands on four feet or poles, fixed in the ground; these poles support a frame on which the yarn is sustained; beneath sits the child who moves the warp up and down; on each side stands a grown-up person to pass the woof from side to side, as the movements by the child open the divisions of the warp. I introduced an improvement on this loom, by employing, instead of the child, a treddle beneath, and by winding
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ing the warp on a beam, I succeeded; but the people were too much devoted to their old practice to adopt any improvements. In the beginning of September I became anxious to renew my journey; I made known my wish to the king, and received permission to depart whenever I chose.

On the 3d I set out, and proceeded northwards, to avoid the great plains which were still covered in places with water. This time of the year is here the best for travelling, the waters being dried up by the heat of the sun. All nature seems re-animated; and the heats are not so scorching as they would be a month later. I saw here and there huts and tents, but as I was in no want of provisions did not enter any of them. At sunset I halted, and asked lodging at some tents; this I obtained, but I could procure no victuals. By noon, on the following day, I reached the mountain of Kohango (or the Treacherous Mountain): it is so called on account of the lions which frequent it, and often rush out of their lurking places upon travellers, and destroy them. This mountain is small, and lies not above half a day's journey distant from the last mentioned range of hills: it was evening when I reached it; and it required some courage and exertion to enable me to pass on over a tract of country that is said, by its inhabitants,

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to be haunted by an evil spirit. Few persons cross over it: travellers generally taking a circuitous way, which requires some hours more to pass.

From the 5th to the 9th, I passed every night in the open air, not having, during all this time, arrived at any village. The road was here and there very bad; but I was cheered by the general beauty of nature around me. In this part of my journey I, for the first time, saw a touykoham*, at which I was much alarmed, fearing it might attack me; but it suffered me to pass on unmolested. I afterwards learned, to my great satisfaction, that it was not a ferocious animal; and I killed, at different times, several young ones, whose flesh I broiled and ate.

On the 10th, about noon, I came to two-and-fifty huts, where I bought, for twenty cowries, some milk and flour, and went on farther to a few other tents, where I was hospitably entertained for the night. From this place I was accompanied by

* An animal in form somewhat like a greyhound. It has long hair, and a tail like a lion. Its side-teeth are like the front-teeth of the bear. Its hair is half an ell long, and as soft as silk. Being unskilled in natural history, I cannot say whether this animal be not known to zoologists under some other name.

some

some men to the Golden Mountains, which we reached in two days. There were many men engaged in working gold mines, at a considerable depth in the earth. They asked me to stay with them; but I expected no good of them, and chose rather to go to the *corahaty* (overseer) himself. This man was glad to find that I came to pass the night with him; his tent was large; and he had in it heaps of dried fruits, roots, and flesh: he bid me take as much of these as I chose, made ready a plentiful meal, and gave me every encouragement to avail myself freely of his proffered hospitality. I did as he desired; and staid with him for some days: he shewed his treasure of gold,* which was in grains, each of the size of a millet seed. To procure it, they sink pits in the mountains which have many subterraneous streams and springs; into these they put nets filled with rushes or reeds, on which the grains of the gold are deposited by the water.

With this worthy man I continued six days. He treated me as kindly, and shewed as great

* King Mohophara rents these mines from King Majophar, paying for them in meal, fruit and flesh, and entertaining the workmen, who are for the most part subjects of King Majophar.

anxiety for my welfare as if I had been his brother. He could write in the fashion of the country; and he inscribed words and figures on the bark and leaves of trees, which I attempted to imitate. At another time I shewed him the forms of our German letters; and he made them with great exactness of imitation. I should have staid longer with him; had not an opportunity occurred for me to proceed on my journey, in company with four of the persons under him, who were going with gold to the king.

On the 17th, leaving my good host with regret, I set out in company with the persons above mentioned. For two days we had to make our way with difficulty through woods, and across putrid, noisome morasses, and over steep and rugged rocks: lions, tygers, and buffaloes, roamed on all hands around us, and put us in great terror. The first night we stopped on the summit of a very steep hill, to avoid the attack of those beasts. At sun-rise we renewed our journey, which we continued, passing a few houses only, till the evening, when we came to a small river, named Wohalar, which is the boundary of the kingdom. We passed the night on an open plain; but beasts of prey came too near to allow us to sleep. Faint and fearful, we renewed our journey by sun-rise; and in the forenoon

forenoon, to our great joy, reached the village of Ohgotha, consisting of sixty-seven cottages.

The curiosity of the villagers was greatly excited by our appearance : they crowded about me ; and every one wished to be my friend and protector.

In language, customs, and manners, this nation nearly resembles that which has been last described ; with this difference, however, that they have none who are priests by profession ; but every father of a family acts as priest to his own household. They are generally poor ; yet this country may be called the richest in all Africa, as it contains gold in abundance, with which, by diligence, the inhabitants might easily enrich themselves. The king is sovereign lord of the country ; and all the gold found in it belongs to him. This he disposes of chiefly to the Portuguese and Spaniards, but sometimes also to the English, on the coast of Guinea, in exchange for cloth, looking-glasses, scissars, knives, nails, trinkets, and other European goods of small value. By this traffic, as is easy to see, he cannot but be a great loser. The imports are, at the utmost, not worth more than two thousand dollars ; and for these are exported gold, ivory, and hides, to the value of sixty thousand dollars. The Portuguese,

gueze, Spaniards, and English, drive a similar trade with other nations of Africa, equally to their own profit and to the real loss of the Africans. Here we again find villages covered with reeds; as it is not necessary in this district to wander about from place to place in search of water. In all the villages are some buffaloes: the men, when not lounging in idleness, go a-hunting, and the women do the household work. I cannot state the extent of this territory; a part spreading out to the east and north remains an uninhabited desert, because the chain of mountains which runs through it, is occupied by ferocious beasts of prey. The breadth of this land too is very various and unequal. Some of the nations in these parts are reputed to be eaters of human flesh, a charge which I know to be absolutely groundless. I know not what can have given rise to this report, unless it be, that the greater number of these people have their teeth, from early youth, sharpened into points; and that other people who have the teeth so pointed are cannibals; so that, without further enquiry, the character of cannibals has been attributed to those also, from the appearance of their teeth. I must own, however, that these people are savage, and addicted to robberies; but I have remarked, that in robbery they make a great distinction, between those who have not much to spare and those who possess

possess abundance: the latter alone are in danger from their rapacity; on which account caravans are not very safe in passing this way. The number of this people is more considerable than it has been said to be: they inhabit a narrow tract of land on both sides of the river Wohala, which is about two days and a half's journey in length, and the most fertile in all the region. On the confines are some villages, the inhabitants of which are placed there to protect the country from hostile inroads. The river Wohala meanders through this country from east to west, and affords water wholesome and pleasant to the taste.

I have already mentioned, that the inhabitants of the villages on the borders gave me a very kind reception. They admitted me within their circle round the fire, danced, sung, and leaped around me, and were all in the liveliest emotion. After about an hour they took me to their cottages: and a contest arose among them concerning who should have me as his guest for the night. At length came the chief of the village, with his daughter; and after listening some minutes to the contention, he took me by the hand and led me into his own hut. A bundle of rushes were given me, and on these I instantly stretched myself down. I had been here about half an hour when my host
supposing

supposing me to be asleep, said to his daughter something in which I could hear myself mentioned. This man's own name was Khnewo. I listened, and soon began to understand why they had made so much to do about me. "We shall receive," said he, "a nobler present from our king when we offer him this fine white slave." The young woman bethought her for a moment; and then, instead of approving her father's design, begged him to say nothing more of it, but to permit her to lie down beside me. The father made some objections which she removed, and ceased to urge her request. She would have succeeded, however, if just at the moment when she was about to obtain her wish, her mother had not come in, and begun to speak of other things. Fatigue hindered me from hearing more, but my sleep was anxious and broken. I could hear nothing of my fellow travellers. Next morning, upon enquiry, I found that they had gone the night before by moon-light to Acymiroh, a large village where the king resided. I awoke very early, for anxiety for my fate had not suffered me to sleep. I looked round the inside of the cottage, and saw that none were yet awake; I then went out, early as it was, and looked about me. In an opening nearly twenty paces distant I found a pool of water, at which, probably, the goats might drink. Here I

felt a desire to bathe, which I had experienced in all the preceding part of my journey ; and throwing aside my cloaths I went into the pond. It excited a great emotion in my whole frame, and I felt myself, as it were, animated with double strength. I then went back to the hut, the master of which was already up, and had gone out, they said, to seek me. I told him where I had been, and what I had been doing ; and they were pleased with me on account of it. My landlord came back with a gloomy countenance : but when he saw me it cleared up, and he was pleased with me. His daughter gazed on me with eyes of fondness. No sooner had the old folks gone out of the hut, than she sprang to me, embraced me closely, and asked if I would not remain with her. I answered, “ that I was travelling a great way eastward.” “ Stay here,” returned she, “ and you shall be my husband.” I endeavoured to soothe her, and she became as much satisfied and as familiar with me as if we had been acquainted for many years. Her father seemed contented to see me on such good terms with his daughter ; and when I declared my inclination to remain with her, and to take her to wife, he made no objection. About noon however, while we sat chearful together in the cottage, the people of the village came in a body, and asked my host if he would not this day send me to

to the king, that they might have the present which they expected. He put them off by saying that I was still very much fatigued, and must have time to rest myself. This pacified them for the present, but they insisted that I should go on the morrow, and so it happened. By day-break there came six men to the door of the hut, who said they were ready to attend me. My host and his daughter made themselves ready, and within an hour we all set out together. The road was bad; sands, fragments of rocks, and bushes, made our progress very slow. Early in the afternoon we passed the villages of Uhwoh and Matoh, besides some solitary huts, and came afterwards to Ocy-moroh, where more than an hundred persons came around us, out of curiosity to see me. As it was evening they would not then take me to the king, but conducted me into a hut where one set of envious visitors after another came all night long to see me.

On the 21st, about mid-day, I was carried before the king, and was by him graciously received. He was just setting out from home, and therefore spoke but few words to me. In the end, however, he said, that I must not remain long in this country; that he supposed I was a Moor and came with some secret purpose. Those who brought

me were thus disappointed of the reward they had expected; but I was glad of the king's purpose in regard to me, as it was so much better than I expected; and I was eager to set out as I could receive directions how to travel. I still retained my intention of endeavouring to join the caravan already mentioned, and of travelling with it to Guinea, whence I might take my passage in a Christian ship to Europe. I was then weary of my journies, and sensible that in travelling farther through the inland country, I should have to encounter numberless difficulties, I stopped to gain some information; and my enquiries were, in many particulars, satisfactorily answered. I had been five days here, and no one took any particular care of me; but I subsisted partly by begging, and partly by the kindness of some young women, who out of affection supplied me with four milk and flour. I had no certain place where to pass the night; but slept one night in one cottage, and another night in another cottage, when I might so far presume as to enter any of them. On the 26th while the day was very hot, and most of the people were fainting with the heat, I laid myself down in the shade behind one of the cottages; not suspecting that the sun would speedily shine on that place, and scorch my head if I should fall asleep. I did fall asleep; nor did I awake till I felt some person

person shake me. I sprung up, and saw some men near me, and others looking on at a small distance, but I had then no suspicion that they meant to laugh at me. I was going to run off, but he who stood next me, held me fast, and said that I must go with him to the King. The King, as he was going to the river to bathe, had seen me asleep, in the sun, behind the hut; and asking who I was, had been told that I was a stranger who had been some days in the place. He then ordered me to be awakened and brought before him. This order was quite agreeable to me, as I expected now to obtain his express permission to proceed on my journey. The King asked me how it happened that I was here, when he had supposed me to have been gone some days. I answered, that I had delayed with a design to rest myself after my fatigue, and in hopes of having permission to continue my journey through his dominions. He asked in return, who gave me permission to come into his country? "That permission no one could give me but you; I came hither to find you, at my peril." "I told you, when you were presented to me, that you must leave my country as soon as possible; yet here you are still, so remain with my servants till I have time to talk further with you: for the present, you may now come along." I followed him to the river; and after we had bathed, came back

again with him to his habitation. He then put me into a hut beside his own, saying, "remain here till I give further orders concerning you." This hut was the residence of his slaves, who received me very kindly. Here, for the usual price, I procured black meal and water, as also three pieces of flesh dried in the sun, each of which was about a finger's breadth. I was obliged to sleep on the bare ground between two of the slaves, from whom I caught such a quantity of lice, that I could take them almost in handfuls from my hair. The slaves laughed to see my anxiety to rid myself of them, saying it was labour in vain; and that the King himself, though he bathed every day, was not quite free from them. My appointed tasks were to gather reeds and thorns for fuel, to attend the King in the bath, and to assist in the smithery.

My comrades, through mere idleness, and as being the King's slaves, were above doing any thing for their own subsistence. The disposition is common here to the slaves of the priests and officers of state, as well as to those belonging to the King: yet, they may be set to hard work at pleasure; and they are never sure of not being sold to some foreign slave-merchant, and transported to a distant land. If any slave-merchant had appeared during

during my stay here, I should certainly have been sold or bartered away as a slave.

A female slave had attached herself to me since my arrival, followed me every where, and made herself my companion at different sorts of work. With her I went on the 12th of October to bring reeds to the King's huts: and as she had hitherto shewn me so much kindness, I now let her know that I had a desire to make my escape, asked her help and advice, and offered either to take her with me or to reward her amply. She agreed to assist and accompany me, and made preparations for our departure. As my mantle of skins was very lousy, she made me an apron of palm-leaves, and saved for me part of her daily allowance of flesh, &c. On the 15th we were again at our work together and alone, she then said that all was ready; that we might set out next morning; and that I must be in the way in good time, without alarming my fellow slaves. I arose earlier than usual, and came to the place appointed, where I found her waiting. I thought we ought to set out immediately; but she first asked what I would give her for thus favouring my escape: I gave her three guilders; but required, that she should at least accompany me over the river, to the mountains of the moon. After some hesitation, she to

our baggage on her back, and bade me follow her. She led me by an easy passage over the river; and we went on, bearing sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, that we might avoid the villages. By mid-day we were at the foot of the mountains, and my fears began to vanish. Here we once more took some food together, and then parted in sadness. For six days sustenance I had one pint of meal, four pints of water, and about two pounds of flesh. Of money I still possessed 27 guilders, and about 50 couries. I had purchased from the good overseer of the goldfinders a small axe, which he sometimes gave me to cut thistles. I with difficulty climbed the mountain, and there passed the night, but without kindling any fire, lest it should betray me. It was still my intention to pass to the kingdom of Akomako, or Wangara; there to join the caravan for Guinea, of which I have several times made mention. I went on therefore, with the eager exertion of all my strength: before day-break I was again on my way; but I was soon obliged to halt, because I heard the hideous howlings of lions in a narrow passage by which I was to proceed. I sat down on a pinnacle of a rock, and there waited till they were gone. The mountain, seen from a distance, appeared to be but one great pointed rock. It is, however, half an hour's walk over its summit.

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On the left from the road was a gold mine unwrought; but I went not near it, lest I should be known, and sent back to the King. I went on as fast as I could, to reach the extremity of those hills; though exceedingly fatigued and retarded by scrambling among the rocks. I was obliged to hold, and even hang by my hands from rock to rock, till I could advance my feet to step upon another. At a place where I was concealed among thistles, grass, and brush-wood; I halted to make a fire, and roast three crabs. When I had refreshed myself with food, I stretched myself down before the fire, and slumbered uncertainly for some hours.

On the 19th in the forenoon, I travelled over a fine plain: in the afternoon, I passed through a tract of barren sand, in which however I found a well. From the 20th to the 24th I saw neither wild beasts nor men, found neither water nor fruit, but was obliged to pass on with weariness and hunger, over a sandy desert, on which some small hills were here and there dispersed. My leathern bottle was emptied of the water, and I found no well at which I might fill it again: thirst made me almost sink down in despair. On the 25th I came to the borders of the kingdom, where I saw some cottages ranged in a straight line from east to west;

west: at the sight of these dwellings I did not long hesitate whether I should approach them, my burning throat compelling me to enter that which I first reached. I asked for meal and water, but obtained only some brackish water without meal. The water produced a great commotion in my stomach; and I had hardly tasted it, when I felt a general uneasiness over my whole frame; at last my stomach entirely rejected it by vomiting. In a short time curiosity brought a number of the people about me; none of them asked me any questions, but I was obliged to place myself in the situation they desired. At last one that seemed to be the chief among them took me by the hand, conducted me to his hut, and there supplied me with meal and water; I gave him a guilder, which he gladly received. For the present my hunger and thirst were abundantly satisfied; and when I went away, he filled my bottle with water, and gave me besides flour enough for two other meals. I then crossed the borders, and in the evening came to a hut in the country of the Womahanians.

CHAP. XI.

The Author's Arrival among the Womahanians—Some Account of these People—They receive him kindly, and entertain him with Tyger's flesh—He proceeds on his Journey through Dayhamla, northward to the Kingdom of Wohjagtam—In this part of his Journey, he falls in with the free and wandering Negroes on the Borders, who are distinguished by the Name of Caomuh—Some Account of them, and of the Arts they practise—The Author travels in Company with them to their Habitations on the Borders of Bahahara—Short History of their Nation—On the 19th of November he goes with their Caravan for Wangara, by the way of Wadgain, Obwuto, Tomy, &c.—He falls sick by the Way, is unable to keep up with the Caravan, and remains behind—Speedily recovering, he travels by Tomy back to Tandoka and Bahahara—In the last of these places, he is for a short time detained as a Slave; but mending the King's Arms, he is set at Liberty; and with a Pass from the King goes to Rahoratho—Description of that Country and of its Capital City.

THE nation of the Womahanians scarcely exceeds the number of three thousand men able to bear arms. They are faithful to their chiefs, generous,

generous, frank, bold, and friendly. In manners and customs they have a near resemblance to the great nation with which they are in alliance. They are sometimes guilty of rapine and murder. The oldest men in the tribe are commonly both judges and priests, and are held in the highest veneration. They are usually accounted negroes, though not of negro descent. They were formerly masters of a different territory, from which they were expelled by a people more potent than themselves. But where that territory lies, and by what people they were driven out of it, no one among them can tell.

I was conducted to the chief of a small village, and was by him kindly received, presented with milk and meal, and gratified with a good night's lodging. I would have paid him with cowries, but he would not accept them; and said, 'that it was his duty to entertain travellers who stood in need of his assistance.' He gave me, in the morning, a present of meal and tyger's flesh, which I did not refuse. He afterwards shewed me some distance on my way, and wished me a good journey. About noon I reached the river Faham: it is small, but its water is good, though of a reddish colour. Here I rested for some hours, and devoured with a good appetite a piece of my tyger's flesh, which is
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in fact better to the taste than goat's flesh. For several days I had met with no trees, and seldom even with a few stunted shrubs. But I now perceived some fine palm-trees, and saw some wild animals. For a circumference of an hundred miles, the lion is the chief beast in the desert, yet he is less terrible than men suppose. When not provoked he does not attack, but quietly suffers the traveller to pass on. Before night I passed within sight of three villages, but halting at none of them, went on to Dayhamla, where I expected better entertainment. Here I learned that if I went north, I should arrive within three days on the borders of the kingdom of Wohjagtam *.

On the 27th I crossed over a small mountain to the north-west, and came in the evening to a village of the Womahanians. I was here kindly treated, and went onward next day with the best wishes of the inhabitants for my safety. I was supplied with water and meal for two days to come; which was very fortunate for me, it being so long before I could again meet with either water or fruits.

* I could not ascertain whether this be the kingdom called Dauma on the maps. But Dauma is marked near the spot where Wohjagtam lies. Only Dauma goes on one hand farther to the east, and on another farther to the north.

On the 28th and 29th, my journey was partly through a track of underwood, and partly over a sandy plain, and agreeably to what had been told me by the people with whom I lodged on the night of the 27th, I saw not a single beast of prey on the road.

On the 29th in the evening, I made a small fire, and gathered grass for fuel to it. But I had scarcely laid me down, when I heard the sound of human voices. I lay still, listened, and found, as they came nearer, that there were several persons in converse together. When they were within a few paces of me, I sprang up, and stood before them, but without speaking. They asked, "What are you doing there?"—I answered, "I am keeping up the fire to frighten wild beasts away."—"Who are you?"—"An unfortunate travelling stranger."—"How came you here? where is your house?"—I replied, as I had usually done before, that I was an Arab, and had been shipwrecked. When they heard that I understood the language, they asked me to go with them, and promised me, on that condition, food and lodging. I left my fire burning, and followed them. We went on for two hours, then stopped for the night at the foot of a hill, in a cave that had been particularly formed, and ate of what provisions they had with them.

them. The persons were in number six-and-twenty, and were of the race of the negroes, who live on the confines of the kingdom of Wohjagtam. They are free, being subject to no king, and carry on a considerable trade of barter between the coast and the remote inland country. From the Portuguese, English and French, on the coast, they procure utensils of iron, mirrors, Nuremberg wares, &c. for which they give ivory, gold-dust, skins, &c. in exchange. They are generally favoured by all nations with which they have intercourse, are never put under restraints, nor are ever disturbed in the enjoyment of their natural rights. They owe these advantages to their possessions, the Europeans being glad to obtain from them the natural productions of the country; and the kings in the inland parts being, on the other hand, well pleased to procure, through the hands of these negroes, looking-glasses, iron wares, beads, rings for the ears and fingers, with various other things, in exchange for their gold-dust. Whoever molests them, if they complain of him to the kings, is always either put to death or sold for a slave. They deal also in slaves, which they bring for sale to the Europeans on the coast. They call themselves Taomuh. Their whole number does not exceed two thousand persons of both sexes. They would not believe but that I was a Christian: yet did not treat

me worse on that account, as they were well acquainted with Europeans. They expressed their readiness to convey me to my countrymen, when they should next return to the coast, or to the island of Fernando, whence they were now coming. I told them that this was not the nearest way to my native country, but that I must go farther inland. With this they were well pleased; and they told me I might have an opportunity of travelling also with them the very way I desired to go.

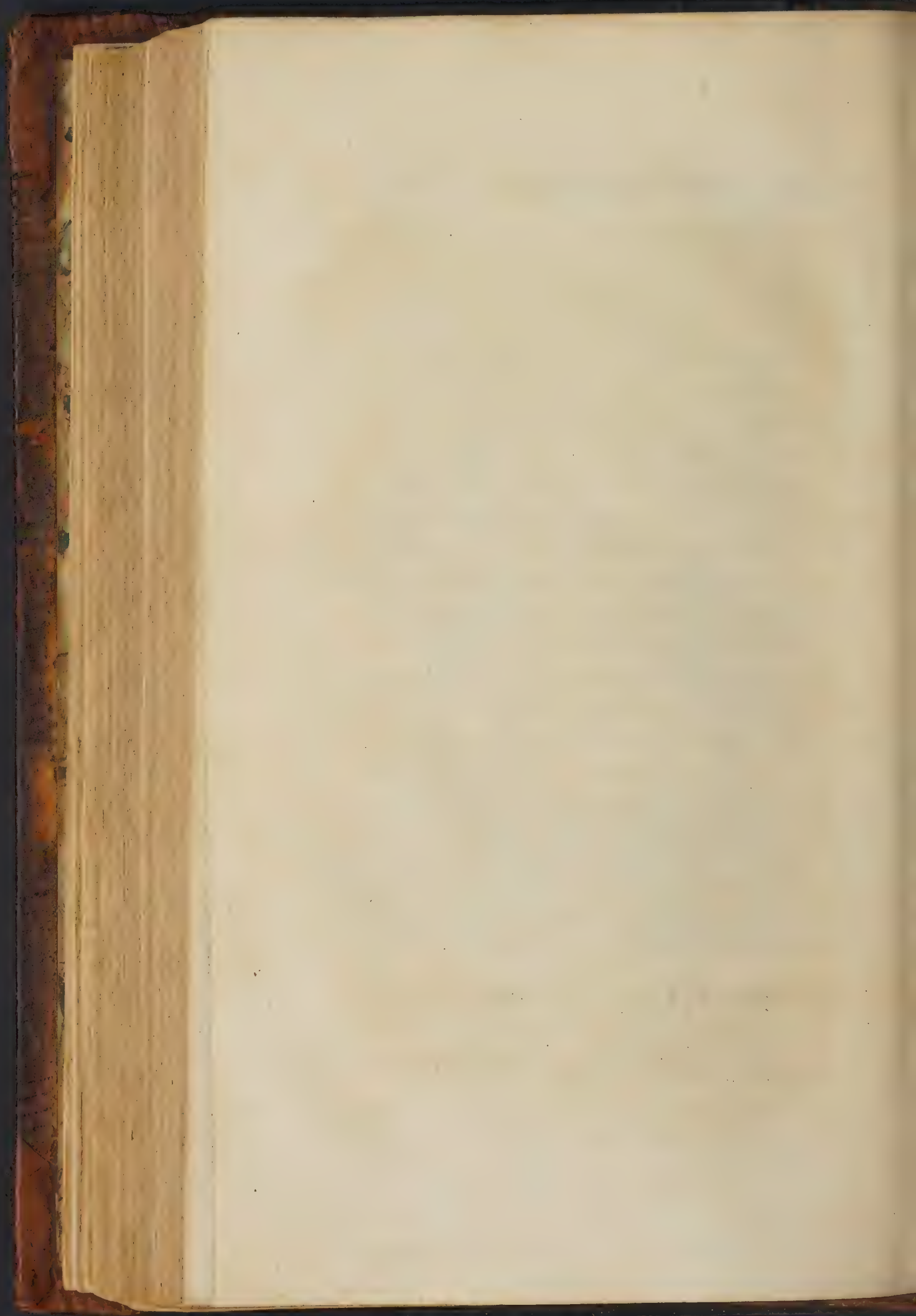
On the 30th we reached the confines, and passed the night between two ranges of hills on the river Tron, in a part that divides the territories of three different nations. On the west-side those hills extend into a part of the kingdom of Bahahara *, which they divide from the kingdom of Wangaoa. As the part of the mountain on the south-side is the boundary of the kingdom of Wohjagtam, which is farther limited by the above-mentioned river. That river rises from the lake Rihma †
(Burnu)

* This kingdom has no place on the map which I have in my hand. No geographer gives any account of it. According to the account of the negroes, its name ought to be written Bahahara.

† This lake derives its waters from the river Niger, is about a day and a half's journey in length, and four miles broad, and has



*A Man & Woman of Bahaharana,
in the dress of the Country.*



(Burnu), and runs to the south-west. By mid-day we reached their tents, on the confines of Bahahara. The inhabitants of the huts received me with earnest joy and curiosity, supposing me to have come with their friends from the island of Fernando. When, however, they heard that I was not a Christian, but an Arab, they became less civilly disposed towards me. At this I was surprized, it being so strikingly opposite to the feelings and conduct of other people of Africa on such an occasion. But I learned that the Arabs and Moors were sworn enemies to the trade of these negroes. From this place goes every year a great caravan, which in twenty days passes the kingdom of Furno, and has frequent contentions with the Moors by the way. The attendants of the caravan go armed and on horseback. I now heard, though my comrades had talked differently, that a caravan was soon to set out for Wangara, there to dispose of the goods which they had brought from the island of Fernando. Upon further enquiry I learned, that I might, without any material inconvenience

has three considerable rivers which take their rise from it. 1. The Kahmgtho, running to the south-east. 2. The Trangoht, which runs south-west. And 3d, The Gambaru, which takes its course to the east. Beside these three rivers, this lake feeds a number of smaller streams, which are, however, often dry.

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to myself, travel with that caravan; and besides, in their company, I might pass the river Niger, over which it would be impossible for me to go alone. I therefore asked those who were going on this journey, to allow me to accompany them. They were not willing; but said, that when I should have arrived with them in Wangara, I should soon fall into the hands of the robbers of those parts, who would sell me for a slave. This did not hinder me from assuring them that I was willing to go with them, and to take my chance as to whatever might be my fate.

This small nation is much more civilized than most others, carrying on an intercourse with the Europeans, cultivating the ground, and furnishing itself with annual stores, &c. The goats of this country are remarkably large and fat, because they are well fed and kept in the state of domesticated animals. This nation once inhabited a different part of the country, where they lived in subjection to the King of Haouffa. Thence they were expelled by the Moors of those parts. They came first to Tambucta; and not thinking themselves in that place sufficiently secure, retired to this country where they now live in tranquillity and safety.

On the 9th of November there set out on the intended journey an hundred and forty armed
men

men on horseback, I following them on foot. At noon we reached the village of Wadgaju, where we refreshed ourselves and the horses with food. That I might not be left behind by the caravan, I asked one of the company if he would allow me to ride his pack-horse; and he gladly agreed to the proposal. After we had left the village which belongs to the kingdom of Bahahara, or Bahahora, we were obliged to alight from the horses, and to drive them before us over a steep hill. I now learned that we were not travelling by the accustomed road, which led for the space of twenty or four and twenty German miles across a country, in passing which it would have been necessary to carry with us much forage for the horses.

On the 10th, we travelled all day, either over or between hills. About noon we came to the village of Ohwuto. It consists of about eighty huts, and is inhabited by negroes. These people raise on their hills melons and gourds, some of which we procured, but not without paying very dear for them. We continued our journey to the north-east, and came to two poor villages, where we could procure nothing, and were obliged to pass the night in the open air.

On the 11th, we had the mountains at a small distance from us; and till the 16th continued our journey along a good level way, without coming to any villages.

On the 16th we reached the village of Yomy. On the preceding day several persons from the caravan had gone, on account of their traffic, to Mooha, a small town in the kingdom of Wangara. These sent a message, on the evening of the 16th, to inform us, that they were going to the other side of the lake Burnu, and hoped to rejoin us in Wangara.

We were this evening to ride over a part of the mountain; and though it was dark, I having neither saddle nor pad on the back of my horse, was unable to continue my journey with the company. If I rode quick, I fell from my seat, and when I rode slowly, my companions told me that I must ride faster, and keep up with them. As I had fallen several times from the horse, and was considerably hurt, I at last told my companions, that I could no longer keep up with them, but would continue my journey on foot. This they would not agree to. They said that these mountains swarmed with robbers and beasts of prey. They

They therefore put me by force on horseback again, and two of the best riders were directed to keep near me. We then proceeded with renewed speed, and by day-break we reached Fahja. I here resumed my intention of stopping, because I found myself unable to stand, and was fore all over my body. However, after we had taken some hours rest, I was obliged again to get on horseback, and go on. Scarcely had the horse begun to move, when I was shaken from his back, and fell senseless to the ground. Having revived, I found myself in the cottage of a good-hearted negro, who told me that my comrades were gone on, but had left some meal and dried flesh for my use. I could neither walk nor stand, and at last found myself in a fever. I lay in despair on the straw, and more than once wished for death. I had besides been brought out of the dwelling-house to the hut in which the goats lay. Fever is there unknown; and when the good people saw me writhe my body under it, they thought I was ill of a pestilential disease. Yet they did not wholly desert me. A humane negro, seeing me drink a great deal of water, prepared me a decoction from roots and green leaves, which, though disagreeably bitter, threw me into sweating and sleep, by which I was much refreshed. For twelve days I had twice a day a fit of the fever. And I

believe that my recovery was chiefly owing to the favourable efficacy of the negro's decoction.

By conversing with the people who came about me, I learned that the way to Wangara was very unsafe; that there were robbers in the desert through which we must pass to it; and that Wangara was not so large and fine a place as I had supposed. On the whole I concluded, that I could not now do better than turn back for a few miles, and take the road to Bahahara.

For my lodging and the little provision I had taken here, I gave the good-natured negro two florins, for which he returned me hearty thanks, and presented me with meal and a fine melon. As I went out, he was also ready, and conducted me over the mountain that I had passed the night before. At mid-day I came again to Yomy, obtained there milk and meal from my old host, and then travelled farther to the north-west.

During the two next days I saw no huts, but had a tolerable road, and found fruits of all kinds, as well as here and there good springs. This country swarms with ostriches, whose eggs are a security to the traveller for a good dinner.

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About five in the evening I reached fourteen ill-built huts, where the inhabitants were dancing on the feast day, and obtained permission to stay with them. Without having ate or drank, I threw myself down behind a hut, and slept till the next morning, when I found myself covered with a goat's skin. A young man brought me flesh, meal and milk, conversed with me whilst I was eating, and imparted to me very good tidings. When I had told him that I was from Syria, (for I changed the name of my country, lest the same accident should befall me as had done a little time before) he said, that when I came to Bahahara I should find the caravans that were come from Syria. I thanked him for the news, and asked him what I was to pay for my eating? He replied, that they never permitted strangers to pay here for any thing. He went away again, but ran back soon, bringing the agreeable intelligence that two inhabitants of the place were travelling to Wohmy to fetch salt, whom I might, if I thought proper, accompany.

On the 8th, I set off with these people : we travelled over a beautiful plain, but were very much oppressed by the heat, and arrived excessively fatigued at a village. At the first huts we begged for a night's lodging, and obtained our request

immediately, but we found a very poor host, who could not let us have, even for our money, either victuals or drink. We gave him money, therefore, and sent him to the Dorifata, or judge, to buy some provisions of him. He soon brought back flesh, meal, and also the money. We were surprised; but he told us, that the Dorifata had charged him to say, that benevolence and hospitality should be exercised towards strangers, that he could not accept of payment, but that he should be happy to see his guests if they could come to him for a few minutes. We visited him next morning, and then travelled three leagues farther over eminences and hills, to Yandoka, a hamlet with about two hundred houses. Here I breakfasted once more with my companions, of whom, as they were to stay here, I took leave, and proceeded on my journey alone. I soon reached a mountain that might be about six leagues in length, and covered with date and cotton trees. Upon this mountain I stopped, as I found that I could not for several hours reach the city of Bahahara.

On the 10th, in the forenoon, I came to the above-mentioned city, where I was instantly taken into custody by six soldiers, and carried to the King's residence. He sent word to the guard that

as he could not speak with me this day, they should convey me back again, and take good care of me. They brought me to a goat hovel, and gave me food in abundance. On the next morning an order came to carry me to the King. I followed, and was introduced to him. As I entered, several questions were proposed to me by one of his Ministers,* such as these: Why I was come into the country? Whether I had brought any presents for the King? Whither I was going? and, Whether I was a christian? I replied, I considered my most direct and safest road to be through this country. I am an unfortunate seaman, who has lost all his goods, and not a christian. I desire no assistance, except a night's lodging, and, if convenient, meat and drink for a day: but if my presence is disagreeable to the King, I am ready to leave the town immediately. I obtained permission to stay, as the King himself intended to speak to me, was then re-conducted to my hut, and provided with victuals and drink. Here I was very well off till the 14th: I ate, drank, and slept; but now

* The King understood my language, but his ideas of greatness obliged him to speak to me through the Minister; he only speaks by word of mouth to the officers and grandees of his court. It was a very great proof of royal favour and condescension that he afterwards entered into personal conversation with me.

my condition was altered. An officer fetched and carried me to the slaves' huts, where I was obliged, next morning, to get up very early, and, on the command of the overseer, to feed the horses, then beat the dates, and at last carry the hunting implements, which were a spear, two fufils, and a water-vessel, to the wood. This was my occupation for a few days only, for as I was once carrying the King's fufils to the wood, I examined them attentively. The King observing this, asked me what I was looking at. I replied, to see whether I could not repair them, as they were at present in a bad state. The lock had probably not been cleaned out or oiled for several years, and was covered all over with rust. The King, after looking earnestly at me, asked, whether I would put his arms into a better condition? and on my consenting, he told me, that I should, on that very day, have another dwelling, and better accommodations.

It has been mentioned before, that there are people travelling round Bahahara and the neighbouring countries, whose employment is to clean and repair fire-arms; and it may hence be supposed that I should find but little occupation. The following relation will rectify this mistake:

Some

Some years before my arrival, the King of Haoussa declared war against the King of Bahahara, and did him considerable injury. The gunsmiths, as I may here call them, had just at that time put in good order the arms of the last King, and were on the point of travelling farther. The King issued an order that they should not depart, but remain at his residence, lest they should clean and repair the arms of his enemy. But as they would set off, after this order, since nothing more was to be gained in the place, the King ordered them to be taken up, cast into prison, and kept there till the war was ended. From that time they would never set foot again in the kingdom, though the King gave them every possible assurance of security.

On the same evening a roomy hut was prepared for me near the King's palace. I had victuals and drink whenever I required either, and a slave to wait on me. I now took my own time, worked at my leisure, but made myself of great importance by my work. On the third day I presented to the King the first piece that I had repaired, was praised to the skies, and dismissed with assurances of royal favour. A short time after, I was called again to the King, and instructed to clean and repair all the soldiers' pieces, and to teach a few soldiers

diers how they might manage their arms themselves. With respect to the first point, it was impossible for me to give a satisfactory answer, but I represented to the King that as I could not make new locks and springs, I could not repair all, though I could most of the soldiers' arms. He condescended to accept my representations, and desired me to do only what was possible, as the arms might still be used without lock or spring. I enquired some time after how this was done, and learned that the soldiers who went with such arms into the field, held either a lighted match or a coal to the pan, and thus fired their guns.

My time passed now very pleasantly; I worked when I chose, and at leisure hours walked about the town, both to form acquaintance, and to learn the manners, customs and usages of the country. Very often I accompanied the king to the chace, and thus enjoyed a great deal of diversion. The king would frequently press me to take a wife, and he did not seem disinclined to resign to me one of his four hundred concubines; but I excused myself, by saying, that I had already in my own country a wife and three children, whom with his permission I would fetch and bring back with me into his dominions. At the beginning of March, 1788, the King informed me, that the time drew near,

near; when, on account of the badness of the water at this season, he should leave Bahahara and retire to Zogo, where a canal, derived from the river Gambia, supplied the place with good and fresh water. I could easily perceive that I was to accompany him, but I was determined, either with his leave, or privately, to proceed on my journey. Two days before the King's departure I received actual orders to prepare for the journey, and to accompany his majesty. I thanked the King for his order and his confidence, but petitioned, at the same time, that he would permit me to prepare for my journey home, that I might be able to return to him before the rainy season. "How many days journey," said the king, "are there to your house?"—"More than thirty," I replied.—"You shall then have two trusty persons to accompany you thither and back again."—"Your gracious favour," I answered, "I cannot except, partly because it would be impossible for me to keep these persons on my journey, and partly because their arrival in my country would be much talked of, and might move the King to shut me in prison, to prevent me from returning: for I am under the necessity of keeping my own King's guns in order, and cannot therefore come away by day, but must take an opportunity of getting out of the country privately by night, to come hither again." On this representation

representation I obtained permission in a short time to leave the country. On the 13th we marched out of Bahahara with the whole court, that is, with twenty priests, four hundred men on foot, two hundred on horseback, and about a hundred of the King's wives.

Bahahara is about a league in length, and three quarters of a league in breadth, contains few houses, but a great many huts constructed with straw and palm leaves, and plaistered around with mud.—The town is surrounded with double pallisades, contains a hundred temples, as wretchedly built almost as the huts, and four streets, for the huts are placed in five rows. The palace is, as well as the other houses, only one story high, but very extensive, for it occupies a sixth part of the town. It is surrounded by a wall, built with flints and stones, five feet high, and three feet wide, but of very irregular construction. In the court-yard stand nine separate buildings, in which reside the priests, the concubines, and the officers. On the north side of it is a quadrangle, surrounded with stones, in which the horses of the nightly guard stand at night. The king's residence is on the south side, and consists of four apartments, which might be taken for stables. One of them I plaistered with mud, and painted with a green colour, drawn

drawn from young palm leaves and tamarind juice, which afforded the king inconceivable pleasure. There are two market-places in the town, the one near the palace for fruits and corn, the other on the west side of the town for fish, fowl and cattle. The traders, of whom there are ten or twelve, have the Mondays and Wednesdays, according to our division of the week, for trading days, on which they hang up their wares for sale on poles ranged in order. There are also two yearly markets, frequented by foreign traders, from the distance of twenty days journey: but as neither of them was kept during my stay in the kingdom, I can say nothing further about them.

Our march out of the town and over the mountain was very slow, yet I could not conveniently keep up with it, for though I had the honour of going in the first ranks, yet as I was laden with two fusils, a vessel in which were three pots of water, some pieces of flesh, two tortoises and very nearly a bushel of meal, and as the weather was exceedingly hot, I was obliged to sit down upon a stone. My comrades laughed at me, but were rebuked by the commanding officer, who thought that I was ill, and instantly announced it to the King. By his order my two fusils were taken from me, and a horse was given me, on which I
soon

soon recovered myself. In the afternoon we arrived at Kaharatho, where we found huts prepared and every thing in order: twenty men had been sent three days before to make the necessary preparations.

Kaharatho scarcely deserves the name of a town, for the huts are very ill constructed, and the inhabitants are too lazy to procure sufficient wood, though it is only two leagues from them. Hence they live in half tumbling huts, or frequently, as I have seen, day and night in the open air. This place is situated on a large plain, through which runs the above-mentioned canal. At a distance beyond the plain are mountains, with fruit-trees of every kind, on whose fruit the inhabitants live all the year through. Fish, land and water tortoise, and fowl of all kinds, are found here in great plenty.

Before I continue my narrative, let me here insert some account of this country, its constitution, manners, usages, and other objects on which I made, during my stay in it, actual observations.

This kingdom is nine days journey from Mangara eastward, and twelve days journey westward from Tambuko. Its length from east to west is about

about six days journey, and from north to south three days journey and a half. It contains three cities, Bahahara, the metropolis, which is in the heart of the country: Mahoora, on the western side, and Kahoratho, on the north-east, about a day's journey from the metropolis. The soil is fruitful, and is here and there cultivated. There are wild and tame animals, and fish in very great abundance. The Gambia flows through a part of the country to the north-east, and carries off the water of two small lakes. On the mountains, which go through the country, from the east to the north-west, there are many fruit-trees, among which the date tree is the principal: and the valleys produce good pasture for horses, oxen and goats. In the waters and rivers of this country, there are, as geographers maintain, crocodiles. Of the manners, customs, and usages of this nation little need be said, and even that may be thought superfluous, since so many persons have described the manners and customs of the negro slaves, who are carried into Asia and America, and make an article of trade in this as well as the neighbouring countries. The King is supreme, his subjects are at his disposal, so much so, that he may even sell them.* Next to him in importance are the priests,

* Many of his subjects, when they cannot find support in their villages, betake themselves to the King, and work as slaves

but they cannot oppose the King in any thing, after he has decreed it. In every village there is a Dorifata, superintendant, or judge, appointed always by the King himself. Each town has three judges: in general officers, who if they stand well in the King's favour, very often decide at their own discretion. The King's forces consist of sixteen thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry. The latter are in very bad condition, they have neither bridles nor saddles for their horses, but to guide them use a few straps. There is a traffic in dates, cotton and skins, to Syomohatony, six days journey from Tamfiuko, and still farther by water and in caravans.

for their living, but they are in general sold to the slave-dealer to make room for others,

CHAP. XII.

Journey of the Author from Kaboratho through the Villages Abatamy, Gabmeeh, and a Country without Water—Description of the Bijong-fruit—Arrival of the Author at the first Border-village of the Kingdom of Houssa, where he is very ill-treated by the Samty-goetys, a Nation of Robbers, one of whom, however, protects him, and sets him forward to the Gambouru, or River Niger—The Author comes to the Village Congao, where he is seized and conveyed to Houssa, the Metropolis—At Houssa he is conducted to the King, and taken by him into the Royal Service—Some envious Persons try to ruin him in the King's Favour; but he strengthens himself in his Friendship, by performing some Carpenters and Smiths Work—Remarkable Example of the King's great Love of Justice, by which the Author escapes from Danger—By his Acquaintance in the Town, the Author gains Information respecting the neighbouring Nations, and makes himself acquainted with the Road to Great Barbary—Description of the War between the King of Houssa and the King of Wangara—The Houssans press on to Wangara, the Metropolis, and take it—The Author is an Eye-witness of the Battle

—Conditions of Peace—Description of the City of Wangara—Return to Houssa—The Author escapes out of this Kingdom, and turns towards the Kingdom of Feene, which is only at a distance of three Days Journey and a Quarter—An ample Description of Houssa and the Royal Residence—The Author travels, as a Gunsmith, through the Villages of Jelly and Pygoebity to Feene, where he repairs Arms, for which he is well maintained and paid—Here he lives six Months very happily, and then travels to Silla, with Instruments, Cloaths, and Provision, being furnished with Letters of Recommendation, in a small Caravan of the Country.

ON the 17th of March I proceeded on my journey. The King made me a present of two hundred shells and some provisions, and ordered two guides to attend me. I turned to the north-east over a mountain, bordering on the plain, in which Cahoratho is situated. I stopped a little time only in Abatamy, but passed the night at Gahmeeh, where my guides left me. On the following day I did not find a single village in my road, and my lodging for the night was on a sharp-pointed rock. Both here and farther on there was abundance of fruits and eatable roots, but there was a great want of water. I searched the vallies, and the cleft in the rocks, but not a drop of water was

was to be found; so that I was forced to travel on to the 23d without seeing an individual, or obtaining any water. On that day I saw a few huts, and joyfully hastened to them, but found them uninhabited. The inhabitants had forsaken them on account of the want of water, and had taken up their residence for some time in another part of the country. Hence I turned more to the east than to the north, to go round a mountain which was to the north of me, and came about evening to a beautiful wood, where I found all sorts of fruit, particularly the bijong,* with which I satisfied my hunger and quenched my thirst. I made a fire and laid myself down by it, but was disturbed in an hour by the visit of six men, who had been sitting not far from me, and on seeing the fire, had come forward to examine by whom it was lighted. They set themselves down by me, and informed me they were the inhabitants of the huts which I had found forsaken, and that they had made other

* This fruit is like quinces, has a red colour, sweet taste, and is of the size of a hen's egg. The inside, which is of a pale red and mealy, has no seed in it. The tree producing this fruit has a white bark, large circular leaves, and strong branches like our oaks. The inhabitants of the country make mats of the leaves for the covering of their huts; they dry the fruit in the sun, scrape them fine, and make cakes of their dust.

huts behind the wood, and were come hither to gather fruit. They remained with me, and in the morning I followed them to their huts, where the first thing I asked for was water, which I obtained in abundance. It was brought from the river Gambouru*, at a little distance from the huts. Here I enquired which road I should take, what nations I should find, and whether I could travel safely. They advised me to keep on the north side, and I followed their directions. A little hill was before me, which I ascended, and here I found so many scorpions, that at every step I trod on some of them. I had turned a little too far to the north-west, and about evening came to a village, which I might have reached by noon. As I saw no inhabitants before the huts, I presumed that they were forsaken, and was going into one of them; but on my stepping in, two negroes jumped up and made an attack on me. I cried out, I ran, but they did not desist till they had knocked me down, and then they quitted me. As soon as I had a little recovered, I took courage and limped slowly on to another hut. Here I found a young girl, who seemed to take pity on me. I shewed her my back and my loins, which were bloody, seized her hand, and

* This is the river Niger, which here goes by a different name.

made every gesture to excite compassion ; for neither the girl nor the barbarians, who had ill-treated me, understood my language. She pointed to me to stay where I was, then ran out, fetched her father, and brought me in a piece of dried flesh. The old man spoke a few words to his daughter, and questioned me by signs, whence I came, whither I was going, and what I wished to have? He winked at me, but his daughter took me by the hand and led me to the hut. All the inhabitants now assembled, some making signs, as if they would again beat me ; but the old man prevented them, and led me into the hut, where I spent the evening, with no small anxiety for the future. Before the other inhabitants of the village were up, the old man conducted me to the river and ferried me over in a boat, made of two trees, stripped of the bark and tied together.

This village, as I learned afterwards, does not belong to the kingdom of Bahahara, but to Houssa. The inhabitants being borderers, they are for the most part robbers, living first at one place then at another, and are called Samty-goety. They were formerly subjects of the kingdom of Gratulagi (Kaughu), but were thence driven away on account of their robberies. They possess no cattle, have no knowledge of agriculture, and must lead

miserable lives; for they never set out on their plundering excursions, till they are compelled by hunger. The Houffans, to whom I came afterwards, were much astonished that I had escaped so well from these robbers; for travellers, they told me, were frequently murdered by them. Their number amounts to fifteen hundred souls. They give themselves no trouble to bring up children, but sell them, and steal others in their stead who are grown up.

On the 26th I saw two more villages, but I avoided them, assuaged my hunger with fruit, and, at night, slept in a tree, that I might not fall a prey to the lions, whom I heard roaring on all sides.

After a walk of some hours, I came to Congao, a village inhabited by Houffans, who would have prohibited my entrance, on a suspicion, that I was the forerunner of the slave-stealers. When they heard, however, that I could not speak their language, and therefore could not be one of the robbers, they conducted me to a goats' hovel, where, whilst they were foddering the goats, I got some meal and milk. When the goats were driven out the next morning, I would have quit-
ted the hut, but was thrust back, and the door
barred against me. About mid-day, an old man
opened

opened the door, looked at me attentively, and then by signs ordered me to follow him. When we came to his hut, I found there about an hundred men collected, who questioned me by signs whither I was going, whether I had money, &c. &c. I endeavoured by signs to answer these questions, and to excite their compassion, shewed them my back and my loins, which were black and blue, from the blows I had received from the robbers. This produced an effect, for they brought me some tortoise, milk, meal, and fruits; but in an hour after I was obliged to return back to my hovel.

On the 28th of March, before day-break, four men armed with spears came to my hovel, gave me meal and water, with which I filled my bottle, and then ordered me to follow them. As resistance would have been vain, I took up my little baggage and followed them. We travelled to the north-east over a plain, where we saw some scattered villages, but did not go near them. At mid-day we rested by a lake, that had been dried up; then ascended a mountain covered with fruit trees and long grass, and on the other side came down to Joomako, a village containing forty-four huts, where we passed the night together in the same hut. By the appearance and gestures of the inhabitants,

bitants, I could perceive that they pitied me, and they gave me to understand that I should have no reason to complain of my destiny. I was so exceedingly tired, that I could not take a morsel of food, which was brought in great abundance, but fell asleep. Early in the morning we continued our journey, but I was soon obliged to sit on the ground, as my feet were sore, and the negroes walked very fast. They had pity on my situation, made bandages for my feet, and walked slower. I followed and kept up with them till the evening. At the fourth village we came to this day, we took up our quarters for the night, and soon went to sleep. This village, called Zooto, consists of about sixty huts, and is situated on a fruitful plain, about three leagues from the river Niger; and here barley, Indian corn, and gourds are raised. On the next morning they gave me some ointment for my swelled feet, and out of compassion for me, rested till mid-day, when a dinner was got ready for us, consisting of gourds dressed in Okonnota sauce*.

* This sauce is of a pale green colour, and is made from berries, about the size of our cherries. They are pressed, and then the juice is boiled to a syrup that is not ill-tasted. This syrup is used instead of butter or grease, in cakes and other things. The tree, which produces the berries, is like the fir-tree, and, from the bottom to the top, shoots out branches and leaves obliquely. It bears the whole year round both blossom and fruit.

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This dish is considered as a very great delicacy, but I was not fond of it, for it melted before I could get a morsel into my mouth.

After dinner we set off again and climbed a small mountain, from whose top we saw a beautiful plain lying below us, with Houssa at a distance in the back ground, and near to us the great river, the Niger. Here the country seemed to be entirely changed: as far as the eye could reach, I saw huts, houses, charming groves, pastures with goats, horses and camels; besides men on foot and on horseback, engaged in various employments. This spot, I may fairly assert to be one of the most beautiful countries, or rather the most beautiful country in all Africa. It was a good hour's walk from the hill to the Niger, which we intended to pass over; but six Moors in the Olikatho, or ferry-house, gave a prohibition to the ferrymen, would have sent my conductors back, and detained myself. While they were questioning me, as I did not understand their language, I could make no answer, but remained silent. This strengthened their opinion that I was a Christian; and they told my conductors, as I was afterwards informed, that they would not permit me to enter into the city. My comrades would willingly have had me sent back again, but the reward would then be lost
which

which they expected to receive from me; they objected, therefore, to the proposition of the Moors, and at last a capitulation took place: our conductors were sent over the river to the little town Boofu, and I was in custody detained by the Moors. Here is a guard always stationed to take notice of suspicious people, who wish to cross at this ferry, and to send them in custody to the King. The guard is not, however, faithful to its trust, for they sometimes take a man for themselves, and sell him to the slave-dealers; or send the Christians whom they seize, to the coast, to the Christian traders, and thus gain a considerable sum for their ransom.

On the following evening, our messengers came back, attended by three armed Moors on horse-back, who were to be our escort; and at day-break they conducted us over the river, where each person is obliged to pay six zimpo for his fare. We soon came to Boofu, a small lively town, containing about two hundred houses, and a hundred huts, and situated about half a day's journey from Houffa. Here the caravans which go from Houffa, Feene, Silla and Tambuko, to Wangara and the kingdom of Mokopharo, stop to lay in provisions, and fodder for their horses, which are much cheaper here than at Houffa. We were carried to the Ahomokoni, or judge, who first entertained

us hospitably, and then questioned me, by an interpreter, on the purpose of my journey. When I had answered his questions, he endeavoured to make a bargain with my conductors, to whom he offered six hundred zimpo for my person, that he might afterwards sell me at a much higher rate for a slave: his offers were rejected, and they appealed to the King's order, that all foreign travellers should be brought before him. We were now to be escorted farther, by six persons with arms, and brought to the metropolis, to the King. The distance was three German miles, but the way did not seem tedious to me, as people were constantly passing us, and various objects excited my attention. It was quite dark when we entered Houssa, which is situated on a hill, and may be seen from a very great distance. The King had retired to rest, and we were obliged to stay at the guard-house, where we were very well entertained, and particularly with some excellent goat soup.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we were brought to the palace, and presented to the King. He put several questions to me; and my travels, of which he wished for a circumstantial account, interested him particularly. To convince him that I was not a spy, and to satisfy his curiosity, I drew my journal out from my waistcoat, and related to him

him select passages, such as I thought would give him the most pleasure. The interpreter wrote on a piece of wood various matters of intelligence, which he then delivered to the King; who after reading them, ordered that victuals and drink should be given to me; that I should be kept in his house as a servant, and provided with a robe. This was instantly done, and I laid aside my sheepskin and waistcoat. The robe was, according to the custom of the country, made very long, and of a reddish linen; and the number of royal servants was increased, by my admission, to eighty persons. Our employment was chiefly to attend the King daily, twice to the temple, and once to the place whence he issued his orders; and when he went out of the city, we supported his chair by turns: for the last purpose, eight persons generally were employed, so that after ten weeks, each man's turn came round again. After I had been there a fortnight, the King was pleased to take a journey to Boosa, and to make several visits from that place. For this journey I was to prepare myself, as my turn was come; and it gave me great uneasiness, as the bearers are accustomed to go on a trot. At first, I went on very well, but as no halt was made, I became so weak and tired, that I fell to the ground. The Moors, my comrades, would have raised me up again; but as I could not help myself,

myself, they drew their poles from the chair, and were going to beat me. I began to cry out vehemently that the King might hear me, who ordered them to stop, made strict enquiries into the matter, and ordered one of the Moors who attended him on horseback, to dismount, give me his horse, and take my place. This drew on me the hatred of several of the attendants, but, out of reverence to the King, they kept it secret; particularly as they observed that he treated me with kindness. After an excursion of six weeks the King returned back to his residence, and on his departure, gave orders that I should not be a bearer, but accompany him on horseback: I did so, as he ordered, and on my return gave back the horse. As no work was given to me, I made a little employment for myself, and particularly used to visit a man engaged in carpenters and joiners work, who was very happy to see me, as he was in hopes of gaining from me much instruction. I made at his house a four cornered table and a box; not indeed so well as an European joiner, for I had not the necessary instruments, but used a knife instead of a chissel, and stones instead of a fine plane. After I had gone about ten times backwards and forwards to this man, the King sent for me, and prohibited my walks in future into the city; for suspicions had been excited against me, and they had endeavoured to persuade him, that

that I could not have any good intentions. I exculpated myself by saying, that I had done nothing amiss, and had gone occasionally to the carpenters, merely because I was one of that trade. This pleased him, and he replied, that, as I was a carpenter, he would give me employment. I undertook it, and he ordered immediately wood to be brought, and gave me permission to spend two hours every day in the city. I made a chest first for the King with eight drawers, and then a small cabinet, which I painted with red and yellow; both pieces gave him the utmost satisfaction, for he was continually looking at them, sending them first to one place then to another, and putting in or taking out something. I next made three pair of knife and fork handles out of bone, with silver rings, on which I engraved some letters of his name, M. H. Y. (Maohaouffary), and polished the whole as well as I could: these he received with heartfelt satisfaction, and promised that I should soon be rewarded.

One feast-day I petitioned for leave to take a walk before the town, to look around me, and the king not only granted my request, but gave me a pass, which was a stick of wood with the royal arms, half a tyger engraved on it, and added, that I might stay away till sun-set, when I was to attend him to the temple.

temple. I now went out of the north gate, towards Wahafua, a village about a league from the city : as I drew near to it, three men came from it on horseback, and directly up to me, taking me for a deserter, and saying, that I should immediately return to the city, or they would carry me thither bound as a prisoner. On my refusal they alighted from their horses, and attacked me with their arms. I shewed them my pass, which they seized, then tied my hands, fixed me between two horses, and so dragged me into the city to the king. He was told that I had intended to run away, but had fallen into their hands. The king was astonished, as he had given me a pass, which he now demanded ; and they put it into his hands, saying they had taken it from me to prevent me from putting my designs into execution. One of them instantly invented several falsehoods, asserted that I had attacked them, and the like. I said not a word, but simply listened to their accusations. The king was struck with my conduct, and now asked me whether these complaints were well-founded. I exculpated myself, appealing to the liberty which had been assured to me in the pass ; and I represented to him, that as I was not well acquainted with the language, these people might probably have misunderstood me, and misconceived that I had affronted them. The king was very mild during

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the whole examination, and seemed particularly desirous to give me confidence. At last he gave orders that I should be taken into custody, and that the chief accuser should stay till the next day to see the manner in which I was to be punished. I was wretched in the extreme, thought that my death drew near, and had not got a wink of sleep, when four soldiers on the following morning came to me, with orders to follow them. All the way I went, I saw people moved with pity for me; but here and there some were standing, who seemed to rejoice at my fate. On the place where I was to be punished, thirty foot soldiers, and twenty cavalry had formed a circle, in the middle of which was a buffalo's hide stretched out, and near it stood six young men, of whom two of the strongest had twisted thongs in their hands. I trembled from head to foot, and was very near fainting, as I expected either death or a very severe flogging. As soon as the king arrived with his officers, he ordered the principal accuser to be called, who sprang into the circle with great vivacity and pleasure. The king now questioned me whither I was going? I answered to Wahafua.* Where did you find

* This is the way to Feene, by which many people escape privately out of this country.

stranger?

this stranger? said he to the accuser, who answered, on the way side behind Wahafua. In an instant the king ordered him to be stript, to be thrown on the buffalo's hide, and to receive a hundred lashes on his belly. Every one was astonished that the punishment designed for me, should be assigned to the complainer; but they were soon better instructed by the king's speech: "Let no one deceive me, or act unjustly by a stranger, or endeavour to bring down upon him unmerited punishment." The wretch was forthwith driven away, and sent beyond the borders of the country: I was placed in his office, and had his horse. The king now informed me how it happened that he had discovered the exile's criminality. He had observed that this was the same man, who on the journey to Boofu, had alighted from his horse, and was obliged to be a chair-bearer in my room. He had perceived also, that this man looked maliciously and scornfully at me, and had thence inferred that the complaint was laid out of revenge. His two comrades, whom he examined strictly, confirmed his suspicion.

I now undertook to petition the king for leave to depart; but he would not consent, saying, you must obey my orders. The Matially (an under officer) of the Moors then took me with him, gave

up to me my horse, with a halter, and a goat-skin instead of a saddle, at which I was astonished. As I perceived that I could not easily accommodate myself to this furniture, but should probably expose myself to great danger, I resolved to beg the king either to let me proceed on my journey, or to place me at least in some other office. On the following morning I was to appear before him: he asked me instantly whether I could ride, to which I answered in the negative. You must learn then, he said, for I have thought of a better place for you, if you will stay with me. I was afraid now to petition again for my departure, as he opposed it, and talked of my longer stay; for if I had been strenuous in my petition, I should have run the risque of being sent to his brother-in-law, Soomahaty,* where I could not depend on many days' good treatment. I resigned myself to my fate, determined to take the first opportunity of escaping, and learned to ride in a short time, that is, to sit fast on my horse whilst I was loading and firing my gun. I was in attendance about the king's person

* King of Zanfara, who was a man of a very cruel disposition. His present wife was sister to the King of Haouffa, and besides her he kept four hundred concubines, of whom, such as no longer pleased him were sold to the slave-dealers, and in their place others were sought for in the country.

when

when he was carried out, or rode on his great camel, which was led by four persons; the rest of the time I employed in cutting little trifles, or going about the town to make enquiries concerning the neighbouring nations.

Twice the caravans from West Barbary passed by in their road to Wangara, which I would willingly have joined, but I could not accomplish my purpose. I made an acquaintance now with the richest trader in the town, whose name was Koobi, who kept on foot constantly two caravans, with a hundred and sixty beasts of burden, and several slaves, and was a man of considerable business. One of his slaves, a facetious active young man, entertained me sometimes with the account of his travels; and from him I obtained the route of the journey into Great Barbary. The rainy season now came on, in which the king never went out, except merely to the temple, or to give his orders in the court of the palace. I had thus more time to make secret preparations for my escape, exercising myself in the pronunciation of the difficult words in the language, and learning, from the above mentioned slave, the most usual expressions in the languages of the neighbouring nations. During this interval, the king shewed me a fusil, of which the butt-end was broken, and asked me

whether the carpenter of my acquaintance, was skilful enough to make another. I replied that I would shew him the stock; and taking it with me, I made a new stock, which so pleased the king, that he made me a present of fifty zimpo.

At the end of the rainy season I was determined to slip away privately, but my purpose was frustrated, as war broke out between my king and the king of Wangara. We took the field first, and our army was mustered by the 14th of July. As the rainy season was not entirely gone by, our soldiers were obliged to march half the day up to their bodies in water, but they were chearful, and in high spirits. The king of Wangara could not conceive it possible for our army to advance through vallies filled with water into his territories; but he was mistaken. Our king also made use of an artifice, that the king of Wangara might not discover the march of our army.

On the 22d of July, about mid-day, an officer (a herald) came from the enemy, guarded by four Moors, to the metropolis, with a declaration of war. This was written on small white bands of leather rolled round two poles. On delivering them, he added, that the king his master would soon fetch them back again. Our king received it
in

in a gracious manner, treated the officer most hospitably ; but gave secret orders for his army to be prepared to march, and then told the officer, that when the water had retired from the plains and vallies, he would carry the poles back, or in other words, begin the war.

On the 23d, before sun-rise, the infantry marched onwards, and was followed, at noon, by half of the cavalry. The hostile officer wished also to return on this day, but the king desired him to stay, and promised to accompany him on the day following, that he might not be insulted.

On the 24th at noon, the king marched with his officers and the herald, and took me with him, in his body guard. On the first day we came to Taahafa, a little town, with about two hundred huts, where five hundred Moors joined us.

On the 25th we passed over the Niger with some loss, for we could not prevent the drowning of twenty men in the waves, the river being very much swollen, and the cavalry, which could not be ferried over, were obliged to swim through on horseback. We that day reached Maatoh, a village with forty huts, in the valley through which the Niger flows.

On the 26th and 27th we marched over a chain of mountains to the east, and came at mid-day to Crahoto, the Golden Mountain. Here we halted, and the herald was sent back to his King with the message, that King Maohouffary was coming with all force to pay him a visit in his own country. As far as Cahfuto, a little town in Wangara, the herald was escorted by a guard of twenty men. As soon as he was gone, news was brought that the infantry was now upon the enemy's ground, waiting for farther orders.

An European army, except that which Buona-
parte led over the lofty mountains of Switzerland,
would never attempt what I here saw done by
troops without discipline. We had now again be-
fore us the two monstrous ranges of mountains,
which we had already climbed over by another
way, and here the passage was far more difficult and
abrupt, so that I really thought it impossible to
conquer it; but I saw that done, which I thought
could never have been executed. At day-break
the King issued his orders to the officers, and in
half an hour the cavalry, with us, took its post,
shook their firelocks, and raised an immense shout,
which was re-echoed by the mountains. They
cried out—*Osothfugo, koato aqulaty* (death and hell
shall not deter us): they rushed up the mountains
instantly,

instantly, pieces of rock tumbled down, but not a man was hurt. The royal tents were now struck, and it was my turn to climb up the mountain. I got off my horse, and with great difficulty reached the top. The King sat quiet upon his camel, smoked a pipe of tobacco, and was not in the least discomposed.

A new obstacle presented itself: for at the bottom of the mountain on the other side, an arm of the river Niger was to be passed over. The king remained on his camel, which was guided by slaves swimming, and they passed through in safety. I followed on horseback, and was equally fortunate; yet I felt great pain in my feet, for the cords that I used instead of stirrups had rubbed the skin from my feet, and the blood flowed from them. We had now the second mountain to climb over, and during this arduous task evening closed upon us; upon hostile ground, at the foot of the mountain, we halted and pitched our camp. At two leagues distance from us we saw clouds of smoke and fire, raised by the infantry, which had marched onwards, and was already employed in plundering, destroying, and burning. In our camp this excited great joy, which was displayed in shouts and songs. On the next morning powder and stones, instead of ball, were distributed throughout the whole

whole camp, to servants, slaves and soldiers, and even to the priests, that we might resist any attack which, however, was not expected. At mid-day sixty-two prisoners were brought in, and then conveyed farther in our rear. The fate of these people might well raise pity and compassion, for they were miserably treated; some were shot, others cut down, others wounded with spears; all were naked, for every thing had been stripped off them, and their huts were burnt to ashes.

Here were neither hospitals, nor surgeons, nor preparations, of any sort, for the care of the wounded; and when the prisoners complained of their pains, wept and howled, by the king's particular favour they burnt their wounds. We marched on very slowly, for we only this day arrived within two leagues of Kahfuto, where we encamped again. Through the whole night a firing was heard, and officers were continually coming with reports to the king, of which I learned nothing. At day break a hundred of our army were brought in wounded, and thirty of the enemy prisoners. We now heard that the main army was attacking Kahfuto, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. Our slaves were sent off to reinforce the army, but they were not wanted, for they had scarcely been gone an hour when
we

we saw the flames arise from Kahfuto, and soon received the intelligence that the enemy had retired, after setting the town on fire. We now advanced, as the main army was marching on, and the whole day we had a bad way through thickets, and over sandy plains, and saw several villages burning.

We encamped by the river Emog, on whose opposite side was the main army. This river runs from the north and flows southward, through the whole land of Wangara. Here we found ourselves uncomfortably situated, for the plain near the river was here and there still under water; there was nothing but slime and mud under our feet, and we could not light a fire, much less take any repose. On the right hand indeed there was a high hill, but we could not turn thither, as we wished to keep up a close connection with the main army. They who had horses sat the whole night upon them, as the only way of getting any rest. At day-break we were ferried over the river and marched towards the metropolis. As soon as the enemies army appeared in sight, the baggage was sent into the rear, under the guard of forty slaves, and fifty soldiers, and the king took upon himself the command of the army, and advanced. After a few hours the attack commenced with a shouting and howling on both sides, so that we ourselves were
alarmed

alarmed at it. Our army, which had not rested for some days, was several times driven back, but it always returned to the attack. The battle remained undecisive till the evening, at one time our army at another that of the enemy retreated; but at length, when night came on, our army took possession of the field, and the enemy retreated into the city. We took two hundred prisoners, but our plunder was inconsiderable. The brunt of the war was now over; for in the whole enemy's country there were no more open plains, where both armies could oppose each other; nothing but thickets, woods, small vallies and mountains, covered the whole country.

I observed that both armies were entirely unacquainted with tactics, and that every thing depended on courage and superior strength. The battle lasted several hours, yet in all that time our people, and probably the enemy, scarcely fired twenty times. The army drew back every time the guns were charged, and then advanced again: there was also a want of powder. We rested two days, and as, on the third, no offers of peace arrived we advanced farther. We now laboured under a scarcity of provision; that which we had brought with us being consumed, and in the enemy's country none was to be found. Hence the king issued
a pro-

a proclamation, that it was not adviseable to retreat for provision, and that he who wanted food must advance farther with him, and conquer the metropolis. What a king does the army must do also; and we advanced, and we marched the whole of that day and half of the night without finding any nourishment for either man or horse. At day-break we were still a league from the city, which we could see very plainly; every way that we turned our eyes men were to be seen in multitudes, either of our own, or of the enemy's army. Our troops were to make the attack, but the enemy anticipated us by suddenly rushing down upon us from a hill which furrounds the city on the north side, and the battle commenced with the utmost impetuosity. The fight raged on every side, and we should have been lost, if the Moors had not fought heroically, and at last pressed on and taken possession of the city. As soon as they had entered it they sent an express to the king to give him the intelligence; and we received orders instantly to charge, and to follow the king into the city. We followed joyfully, expecting to find provision for man and horse, but we were deceived, for not the least particle remained; that which the fugitive inhabitants could not carry away with them, and what remained in possession of those who staid behind, was consumed by such of our army as first took

took possession of the place, and who had set the city on fire on the north side. The king gave instant orders that the fire should be extinguished, and then took counsel with his officers what farther steps should be pursued. I took up my quarters in the former dwelling of an officer, where I found every convenience except what was necessary for the stomach. For those indeed who had had no share in the plundering, a little meal was distributed, but this was not sufficient to satisfy us for a few hours. The following was a day of rest for the whole army: the king, however, was fully employed in making preparations. I attended him through the city to see whether any provision could be procured, but we saw no signs of any, and every where the greatest misery prevailed. Mothers and children prostrated themselves on the ground before the king, and cried out to him; he disregarded them, and ordered, that if they did not retire, but hindered the passage, they should be put to death. I was extremely affected, and felt an aversion to the king, though I well knew that here, in time of war, compassion is laid aside, and at other times I had perceived in him many proofs of a sympathizing disposition. I soon after changed my opinion, for that very evening he commanded that the army should leave the city the next morning, but not set it on fire, as is generally the case,

nor

nor carry away its feeble inhabitants as prisoners and slaves, unless they were in arms; but leave them undisturbed in their huts.

The city of Wangara is a league in length, and nearly half a league in breadth; with six rows of houses and huts, and three principal streets, which run in a line from north to south. The houses are built of mud and unhewn stones; the huts of mud and reed-grass. At each end of a street stands a temple, and the middle of the town serves for a market place, as there the cross streets run through the principal streets. The palace is built of mud and plain stones, surrounded by a wall six feet high, but here and there out of repair, and it has a miserable appearance. The town is surrounded with palisadoes, which are in ill condition and rotten. On the south side of the town is a water-pond six feet deep, where the cattle drink, and whence, in time of scarcity, the people fetch their water.

At day break we left the city and retired to our old camp on the borders, at the foot of the mountains; the cavalry led the way, and the infantry followed.

On the 23d an officer came from the enemy with proposals of peace. The king accepted them, on condition that the King of Wangara would come himself and treat with him. This took place, and a mutual contract of friendship and peace was entered into on the following points: 1. The King of Wangara shall give every year to the King of Haoussa or Houssa, twenty slaves. 2. The King of Wangara shall assist the King of Houssa when he is attacked by other nations, for which he shall retain the plunder which his people have made in this war. 3. The cattle which the subjects of the King of Wangara have driven out of the kingdom of Houssa shall be restored. 4. Both Kings confirm the freedom of trade between the two nations.

As soon as peace was concluded, the two Kings treated each other in a very friendly manner, smoked tobacco together, conversed on different subjects, and wasted not a moment's thought on the unfortunate persons who had been taken prisoners in the campaign, and of course consigned to slavery; for they were left with the power which had taken them. The war cost on both sides about a thousand men: several villages and towns were destroyed, and many thousand inhabitants despoiled of their huts and their property. On the 20th of August

August peace was proclaimed; and on the 28th we returned back to our metropolis.

In this campaign I tried to form several intimacies, particularly with some of the Moors, from whom I endeavoured to gain some intelligence useful to me in my farther travels. I was fixed in my resolution to take the first opportunity of escaping, and going into the kingdom of Feene, which is about three days journey and a quarter from Houssa: but of this expedition I will say nothing, till I have given a fuller description of the country which I had made my residence for several months.

The kingdom of Houssa is the most beautiful country that I have seen in Africa, in my whole way from the Cape. It borders eastward on the kingdom of Mophaty or Zanfara, northward on the territory of Fomingho, westward on the kingdom of Feene, and southward on the kingdom of Bahahara. The river Niger flows through part of the country which it fertilises; it is also very advantageous to commerce, for many vessels go from Tambuko, or Tombuctoo, to Boofu, and their merchandise is conveyed farther in caravans. This country is very fruitful, and if it were inhabited by a civilized people, would attract great wealth

to itself. It abounds in animals of every kind; possesses a superfluity of wood, and various fruits. The mountains produce salt, and saltpetre; the woods, honey and wax: and if the inhabitants would search for them in the bowels of the hills, they would find numerous treasures. There are properly three kinds of inhabitants in this country. 1. The Samtygoetys who dwell on the southern borders. 2. The Kahmofans on the eastern side. And, 3. The Houffans in the middle. Most of the inhabitants wear long coloured linen mantles, which are fastened round the body, and instead of shoes thongs of leather, which are bound crossways over the foot. Around the head a coloured linen or woollen cloth is bound. The soldiers alone wear round the head a red cloth made of goats hair or cotton, but in other respects they wear the usual dress.

The Moors have short red mantles of linen; officers and traders are generally clad in silk. The men are large and strong, and shew great courage in the field: the women are of less size, and agreeable in their persons. Men and women are of a clear brown colour, with flat noses, beautiful white teeth, and large eyes. The Moors look whiter, and are of middle stature; they are not natives of the country, but come from the desert of Sahara, and

and serve as soldiers for their food and cloathing. They can all ride well, and by their skill and activity keep the enemy in constant employ. They reside in towns and villages in their own huts and houses, but are in no estimation with the natives. They take great pleasure in stealing, but do not exercise their skill in this art; for he who is found guilty of stealing, receives a certain number of lashes on the belly from the person whom he has robbed, and is then driven out of the country. The natives are a good tempered people, who will neither insult a stranger, nor suffer him to be insulted. Every one takes all possible pains to entertain the stranger who addresses him, and then to set him on the right road, which they are particularly attentive to, lest the Moors should fall upon and rob the stranger, or carry him off privately and sell him. In their household they are cleanly and fond of order. Before any one goes to his work he says his prayers, either in the open air or in the temple. On bad weather they do no work in the fields though it should be necessary, but they are more given to agriculture than any of the nations that I had hitherto visited. The Moors are Mahometans, and the natives Heathens. Here are priests in plenty, but they have no privileges over the other inhabitants, and must take care of their lands and household affairs if they wish for a maintenance.

They superintend the education of children, and generally live in the temples. Circumcision is established and practised every full moon; the child may be either one day or twenty-six days old. The art of writing is known here, and children to exercise themselves in it use their boards strewed with sand, on which they write with fish or other fine bones. From the sixth to the tenth year the children receive education, and from that time are accustomed to domestic labour. For the whole education of a child the priest is rewarded with a goat.

The festivals are announced by the priests; for example, the feast of the new moon, on which they go to the temple at sun rise, walk about with their pupils, till the congregation is assembled, when they make their prayers standing, while the audience is lying prostrate with their faces toward the sun. The children stand by in a circle, and seem to be very devout. When prayers are over, the infants, if there are any, are brought forward for circumcision. When this is finished the priest lays the circumcised child on the ground, delivers a sermon, and then returns the child with various ceremonies to its mother. The temples are constructed with great simplicity; in the villages they are made, like the huts, of reed-straw and thatched with palm-leaves; plastered with mud in the inside,

side, and painted or rubbed over with a red colour which is found in the country. In the towns they are built with rough stones, and remarkably ornamented within: that is, one stone is painted blue, another red, a third black, and so forth: and sometimes they are adorned with figures engraven upon them.

The King is supreme, and enjoys unlimited authority over his country. He has, properly speaking, no ministers; his officers perform the office of counsellors in the towns; but cannot decide without his approbation on affairs of any importance. He is very strict in the administration of justice; punishes slight offences oftentimes with thirty or sixty lashes on the belly, which are laid on by thongs of leather twisted together. Thieves are generally hanged, and in the following manner: a post is fixed in the ground, to which two pieces of iron are fastened, that run about half a foot out of the wood, are crooked before, and have shanks like a fish-hook: on these the malefactor is hanged under the chin, and his hands and feet are at the same time tied together to them. One hanged in this manner lives in general from six-and-thirty to eight-and-forty hours: sometimes the punishment is mitigated. The malefactor is hanged by

the neck upon the hooks, and then remains alive only about two hours.

The military force consists in eighteen or twenty thousand native infantry, and six thousand Moorish cavalry. Most of the soldiers carry guns and large iron axes in war time, the others lances four feet long. The King goes always himself into the field, and commands the army. He is dreaded by his neighbours, though they are in possession of much stronger armies. The trade carried on in and through this country is considerable, to which its situation and fertility is very favourable. The caravans halt here, take in provisions and fodder, and make arrangements for their return. The exports from this country are manna, dates, and cotton to Tambuko; amber, gums, and musk to Barbary; ivory, skins, and ostrich feathers to the kingdom of Tookahat.*

Houssa may be esteemed one of the largest cities in Africa, for it is half a day's journey in length, and two German miles in breadth.†

* This kingdom is about twenty days journey from Houssa, and borders on the coasts of Guinea.

† Mr. Mungo Park has inaccurately placed this city at the distance of two days journey from the Niger; depending on the account given to him by an ignorant person.

I could never learn exactly the number of its inhabitants, or of their huts and houses. There are nine streets from east to west, named after the nine first months of the year: 1st, Joeh. 2d, Waa-hatiy. 3d, Teethojoty. 4th, Saawoo. 5th, Nim-joto. 6th, Nahary. 7th, Terankjato. 8th, Mili-kotoala; and 9th, the Sattomially street, that is, 1st, the Flesh. 2d, Fire. 3d, Lion. 4th, Calf. 5th, Porcupine. 6th, Camel. 7th, Moon. 8th, Dark; and 9th, Commerce Streets.

Besides the principal streets, there are sixteen cross and half streets: they are not closely paved, but covered with sand to a considerable height. The houses and churches are, for the most part, of stone and lime, and are not above one story high. They are not built close, one to another, but with passages between them, to prevent danger from fire. I was told, that in this town alone there are two hundred and fifty churches. Here are also four market-places: one for men or slaves; a second, where the merchants of the caravans expose their goods to sale; a third for flesh or cattle; and the fourth, a place for exercises. The castle is on the south side, and is reckoned very strong; it is surrounded with a double wall, and a deep ditch. In the town and castle are usually three thousand men in garrison. Here are manu-

factures of linen and earthen wares, which are conveyed by the caravans to other countries for sale. There are reckoned to be in this town three hundred merchants, who carry on a considerable trade, and even furnish out for themselves caravans, by which their traffic is widely extended. Strangers are protected in the exercise of a free trade here. Numbers of Jews come at stated times and exchange silver, gold, ivory, and materials for dying, for iron wire, swords, gun-powder, balls, looking-glasses, &c. In the suburbs there are better and finer houses than in the town itself, though the former are inhabited only by smiths and potters. An hour's walk to the west of the town, is a brook on which there is a bath for the King and his officers: it is covered with straw and palm-leaves, and on the inside lined with cotton. The water issues hot from the ground, and throws up a quantity of gold dust: so, at least, I was told, but I do not vouch for the truth of the report, as I was never in the inside of the great bath, it being death to enter it without the king's permission. I observed, indeed, that the King had gold-dust to exchange, though there was none publicly gathered within his territories.

Every year, in the month of September when the weather is the finest of the whole year, the
King

King goes to a lodge which he has at Boofu, and there exercises his soldiers in arms. For the purpose of acquiring more information, and acquainting myself with the environs, I often went, with the king's permission, to the suburbs and other adjacent parts. The only restraint I suffered was, that, by the King's command, I was attended by a Moor, who had orders to accompany me every where, and to protect me against all injury. Since a former accident, the King had given notice, that whoever should suffer me to run into any harm through my ignorance of their customs and manners, should suffer death. Though this was, on the one hand, very agreeable to me, as assuring me that no one would do me any harm; yet, on the other, it had the unpleasant effect of making every person take to flight at sight of me. I was therefore obliged to take another course to effect my purpose. I went no more abroad, but remained at home under pretence of illness. The officer who commanded the Moors asked me, on the second day, what was the matter with me? I answered, that I was ill of a fever. The King no sooner was informed of my condition, than he enquired of the priests what could be done for my recovery. They advised, agreeably to my wishes, that I should bathe once a day. The king sent notice to me, that I must go thrice a day, and bathe in

in the small lake before the town, for the recovery of my health. I answered, that I was too feeble to go so far. A Moor then received orders to conduct me thither, and to take all care of me. For eight days I remained under cure, without having any hope of effecting my purpose, as my attendant never left me for a moment. On the ninth day I pretended to be very weak, and said when we went out in the morning, that I should not return immediately, as I had permission to remain till the evening. My attendant believing me, said he would then go back to the town, and in the evening return to fetch me. I went toward the lake, and my companion returned to the town: but scarcely had he turned his back upon me, when I ran off as fast as I could, and bent my way towards the kingdom of Feene. After walking about two hours, I fell in with some Moors on horse-back, who asked—whither I was going? I answered, that being in ill health, I had been ordered by the King to take exercise for my recovery. They believed me, but bade me not go farther that way, because there were usually robbers in the low woods to the north-west. I thanked them for their good advice, turned to go a different way, and said that I would walk another hour, and then return to the town. They rode on, but did not take the way to the town, a circumstance at which I rejoiced,

I rejoiced, as they might otherwise have given information which way I went. I then passed on as quick as possible, and thought I saw here and there several people in the fields; I avoided them. Arriving at a wood, I rested myself there for an hour, and then proceeded on my journey. I had for a long time kept my compass and my journal under my vest, in a piece of goat's skin, fastened with a small thong, that things of such consequence might not, by any negligence, be left behind me in my flight. I saw men here and there; but no one detained me. I ate some dates, and thought not of other food, but only of my safety. Beyond the wood I saw several other villages, but entered none of them, as I supposed them to be inhabited by Moors. In the night I approached two villages, and lest I should miss the right way, addressed myself to some Moors, who supposing me to be upon the king's business, made no attempt to detain me, although I was known to them. On the third day, I reached the kingdom of Feene, rejoiced to find myself once more at liberty. Between this and Biledulgerid is an extensive waste, named the Desert of Salhara.

In the morning of the 17th of September I met with a troop of Moors on horseback, who asked me who I was, and whither I was going? I answered

swered, that I was a gun-maker * of Biledulgerid, and came hither in search of work. "Go to Feene, there you will find work: you are not, however, on the proper road; you must go farther to the right." I thanked them for their information; and as I was renewing my walk, took the liberty to ask them for some flesh and meal. They assured me that I should be able to procure both at the next village. It was named Jelly, and consisted of fifty huts, which were all so built, that they might with little difficulty be taken to pieces. As this place is not far from the Niger, and is liable to be overflowed in the rainy season, its inhabitants go at that time of the year for two months to the mountains. After making here a plentiful meal on flour and crab's flesh, I continued my journey to the mountain by a deep miry path, in which I often sunk to the knees. The mountain was bare, and presented to the view nothing but rocks and sand. Its east-side is, however, inhabited. I

* In Haoussa I had seen people of this description, and though not quite so dark in complexion, yet I could scarcely be thought a foreigner, while my body and features were dark with dirt, and my hair curled just like a gun-maker. These are allowed to travel every-where, to make and mend arms; and they have no settled residence. It is common in November that they come hither from Barbary; but I meant to say, that, on account of war, they would not let me pass sooner.

spent the night in a village whose inhabitants support themselves by gathering salt, and carrying it for sale to Fecne and Sille. They were poor, but they gave me some meal and lodging for the night.

On the 18th I entered a fertile plain, at the distance of an hour's walk from the river Niger, a fine village, named Pygohsity, inhabited by Arabs and aborigines of the country, and consisting of an hundred houses. The governor of this place, whose name was Jonhaty, received me in a very friendly manner, and as he heard that I was a gun-maker, asked me to repair his arms. I told him, with secret uneasiness but without any confusion of manner, that I had been robbed of my tools, and must first try to recover them. The good man heartily pitied me, and as he was very desirous to have his arms mended, brought me an old knife, a small hammer, with a pair of pincers, and asked me to try if I could not, with these at least, somewhat improve the condition of his weapons. I made a trial, and he was satisfied. One thing left me still open to the suspicion that I was not a gun-maker, and therefore a character different from what I pretended to be, namely, that I did not speak the accustomed dialect of those people. I understood indeed some words and phrases of their language, but could not speak it myself. The gun-makers
who

who are accustomed to come into these parts are very expert in speaking all the languages of the countries into which they travel for work. It is the Mongrareth tongue that is spoken in Barbary. In Houffa, the Somathalesah is the common language. In this respect I did the best I could : and as the village chieftain was little skilled in this art, my endeavours passed not unsuccessfully. I staid here two days, and mended some arms as well as I could with the indifferent instruments which were put into my hands. I asked no money for my work, but received as a present some wire, a pair of pincers, and a hammer.

On the 20th I set out again, and passed on my way some huts, and also a village. In the last ten hours' journey to the town of Feene, I was taken under the care of a Moor and carried to the town of Jonhaty. He was surprized that, being a gun-maker, I did not speak the language of the country. My excuse was, that this was the first time in my life that I ever travelled into these parts. But though my hair was curled, and the colour of my body sufficiently dark and dirty, yet he saw something suspicious in my appearance which did not fail to provoke his enquiries. He entertained me this night in his house, and next day informed the King of my arrival. The King's orders were, that
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he should find work for me, keep me in his house, and attend to my convenience. My host accordingly erected a temporary wooden hut for me to work in, gave me his own weapons to repair, and then made my arrival known to his neighbours. I was not suffered to want meat or drink, but I was forced to work hard, as the people were exceedingly impatient to have their arms mended. One morning my host bethought him to ask me why I went not to the temple to prayers? I answered, that I would gladly have done so, if I had not so much work to perform; but was now ready to go with him. I took my upper garment and followed, and so behaved myself, that I was taken by all to be a person of the same religion with themselves. It was indeed not difficult for me to go through the different ceremonies, as I had seen and had taken part in them in Houssa. Besides, these people are not such bigots as those of many European and Christian countries, but think those sufficiently religious who go often to the temple and to prayers. I have seen Moors come to the temple with the tobacco-pipe in their mouth, without giving offence. I had been already a month here, without attending to any thing else than my work; and as I went daily to the temple, I now became more known, and got more work. Many of the merchants brought me guns and
swords

words to repair and sharpen, and paid me very well for my work. At the end of a quarter of a year I had earned means of subsistence for the whole year, beside a great deal of cloathing, of which my landlord said I should be robbed by the way. The King again took some notice of me, being induced by what the Moors said of my work and my inoffensive conduct. He sent therefore for my landlord and asked him how I worked and behaved myself; and as this man also gave a favourable account of me, the King sent for me himself, gave me his damaged arms to repair, asked me how I happened to come into his country, and when I would come again? I answered as I supposed would be agreeable to him, that I should stay only while I could find work. He was pleased with my reply, and dismissed me with assurances of his favour. As my host himself was a man of few words, I conversed, when not at work in my hut, with the slaves who had been ordered to assist me, and by that means learned the language of the country. To improve my acquaintance with those to whom I was indebted for presents, I asked my good landlord to carry me to wait upon them, that I might tender them my thanks. He took me first to the merchant Soomo, who had given me a mantle that had been worn, but was still good. This man was very friendly and kind. He made them set before me

me a melon and some goat's milk, gave me a small saw and a chissel, and promised to do every thing in his power for me. Another gave me a knife, a piece of cloth for a turban, and some nails. After I had repaired and sharpened the King's arms, I made for my landlord a small table and a go-cart for a child, which excited much wonder, so that there was more work of this sort required of me than I could possibly engage to do, as I was determined to proceed on my journey. It was, however, impossible to go strait towards the borders of Biledulgerid, as those vast deserts were occupied by men who lived solely by rapine: I might indeed go westward; but even there, if taken for a Christian, I should probably be very ill treated.

I had already remained here six months without finding any opportunity of travelling with a caravan. Great anxiety was entertained respecting a large caravan which comes annually from Tunico, and proceeds to Tombucto: on former years it had arrived and departed before this time. It was supposed therefore, since they had not yet arrived, that they must have been plundered and dispersed by the way. At last, my landlord told me, that as the arrival of the great caravan was now despaired of, a small caravan was therefore preparing to set out for Tombucto, with which I might travel.

vel. He likewise offered to recommend me to the attention of his brother, who dwelt in that town; and accordingly gave me a small roll of linen, on which were written certain characters, which was my letter of recommendation to his brother. I then took leave of my friends, the merchants, who gave me provisions for my journey; and with their good wishes in my favour, set out on the seventh of April.

CHAP. XIII.

Description of the Town of Feene, and surrounding Territory—Correction of the Narrative of Munga Park—The Author proceeds from Feene Nahga, where he takes shipping, and sails on the River by Metatab and Prasiet, to Silla. Description of the Town of Silla. From this Place the Author proceeds with a Caravan to Muta, Saatata, and the Canoko or Gold Mountain, on the Border of the Kingdom of Nylokka, to the Siegmartans, a free Tribe, inhabiting Caves—Description of the Sandy Desert. The Company proceed to the Arabs, living in Huts, and to the Brave Mubojadenes, a strong and handsome Race of People,—and once attacked, but without suffering any detriment, by the Cacoaterenes—Remarks concerning that last Nation. On the 24th of May the Caravan ascended a great Hill: From the 25th to the 30th they continue their Journey through the Sandy Desert. On the 1st of June they arrive at a Village in the Kingdom of Watmeth, and there rest for a Day to refresh themselves—On the 5th of June the Caravan cross over a Chain of Mountains, and swim with difficulty through the River Sampi, which is greatly swollen.

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They then pass over a Sandy Plain, and arrive on the Confines of the Kingdom of Tamohata or Targa. They are attacked by a Moorish Horde, lose two men, and a Camel, but reach, at last, the Mountains bounding the Desert of Sahara.

OF the nations inhabiting between Feene, the desert of Sahara, and the confines of Biledulgerid, I shall give an account hereafter, as well as of many of these in the desert of Sahara. Here I mean to speak only of the town and country of Feene.* This town lies on a barren eminence, which in the rainy season, in the months of June and July, is entirely furrounded with water, so that you cannot reach, on any side, to above half-an-hour's distance from the town. Those whose business obliges them to go farther, must have a horse or a camel, and are in danger of being drowned. The town is about two hours walk in circumference, and is in the best style of building that is known in these parts. There are four principal streets, and in the middle a market-place, where you may find a good deal of both African and

* Mungo Park has erroneously represented this town as lying beyond Haoussa, and describes Silla as two days distant from it. But Feene is full three days journey from Silla. You may go either by land or water.

European goods. The latter of these are brought by the caravans, and consist of looking-glasses, buttons, needles, Nuremberg goods, iron utensils, &c. On the west side stands the castle, surrounded with a wall which, on one side, has a connexion with the wall of the town. The walls are of stones and pebbles of red colour : but the houses, though some of them are two stories high, are constructed of straw, leaves, wood and clay.— There are in all, about three hundred houses, and a thousand huts. The town consists of two parts ; one of these, containing the houses, extends between east and south ; is named Konko Horroh Jamgala, that is, the free place or town of the hill ; and is inhabited by merchants, priests and other persons of eminence. The other part, extending between west and north, is named Hiny Daho Konkoo—the Black Land Hill—probably because the huts inhabited mostly by Arabs and poor Moors, stands on a black soil. Beside eighty public temples and mosques, there are also in the houses of the gentlemen several private temples. But what I had not for a long time seen, here were eight fine public wells, built round with walls of stone, and having handsome winding stairs, that led down to the water, in each of them. They did not afford spring water, but in the rainy season were filled with rain-water, and were, at

other times, supplied by sluices from the Niger. They are enclosed and placed under the direction of one or more respectable persons, who have under them inferior people, whose business is, to open and shut the wells. They are never opened by night unless when caravans arrive, and then to afford water to the people and their cattle.

For extinguishing fires, sand, not water, is used. Each house has commonly sand in readiness upon it, so that it does not easily take fire, even though the next house be in flames. The King resides here but four months in the year, passing the rest of it at Silla, at other towns, and at some of his lodges. The Arabs follow agriculture; for, though the ground be sandy, it affords abundance of good vegetable produce. It is manured by being laid under water, partly by other more laborious means. Lemons, gourds, barley, Turkey corn, with some dates, tamarinds and plums, are its chief produce. Fruit-trees do not thrive here, which is probably owing to the moisture in the atmosphere from the rains and floods. Besides, the fruits cannot be easily saved from thieves. In this town are various handicraftsmen, smiths, potters, linen-weavers, carpenters, masons, &c.

When

When I left the town, on the 7th of April, Jothaty gave me two Moors for a guide, and provisions for two days. We went to see Nahga: but there was no person going thence to Metatah. We staid till noon, and had the good fortune to procure a boat, into which we went with two travelling merchants who were going to Tambucto. We sailed against the stream, and came by night to Metatah. Between Metatah and Prasiet the Niger is augmented by the influx of the Agatra, or Gray river, which falls from the north. The Niger was at this place as broad as the Rhine at Cologne. My attendants went from this place to Feene, while I passed on with the merchants through Metatah and Prasiet, at which places there are good caravanferas for the reception of merchants and sea-faring people. We saw here several warchouses, in which we were told that the merchants and sailors deposited their goods when they had occasion to pass the night here, taking them again on board their vessels in the morning. For watching these cargoes, the ship-masters pay sixty zimpo each night, and for this small sum are insured that they shall lose nothing. The goods are unshipped every night on account of the pirates who infest the Niger. When the skippers have very valuable cargoes, they will often receive passengers without asking any fare, but on condi-

tion that in the case of an attack by robbers, the passengers shall assist in the defence of the vessel and goods.

We had a favourable passage from Prasiet to Silla, where we landed on the morning of the 11th of April. Here the Moors carried us before the Janhaty, by whom we were examined. My companions, the merchants, for thirty zimpo procured a pass, and then went on. But as I said that I was a gun-maker, and had an introduction to the merchant Soota, two Moors were ordered to conduct me to him. When I produced my roll of linen, the merchant said—"I shall keep the stranger who is recommended to me by my brother, and when he is to go away, I will speak to the Janhaty." The Moors demanded forty zimpo for having brought me; and the merchant paid them. He gave me a hut behind his house to live in, and bade me continue there as long as I should remain in this place. He added that he would do every thing in his power to serve me; and I mentioned to him that I should wish to take the first opportunity of travelling homewards with a caravan. I repaired his own arms, and as he was satisfied with my work, he recommended me to others. I did not get many weapons to mend, as there had been other gun-makers here only about a month before me,

me. But not to remain idle, I made for my good host different pieces of household furniture,—a chest, a table, &c. When my friend went out, he took me with him; and by this means I became acquainted with many people, especially merchants.

On the 1st of May came a caravan that was going to Tunis, from Nubia, with a quantity of rich merchandise. It consisted of forty camels and ninety men. My friend spoke to the leader of the caravan, to take me with him, and take care of me on my journey. That person came to me the same day and asked, what I would give him for the journey? Not being acquainted with the usual terms, I desired him to name the sum. After some consideration, he said he would take nothing, but that I must arm myself well, and in case of an attack, fight for the defence of the caravan. This I promised, but was much at a loss where to buy a gun, powder, balls and a sword, as they were not here to be purchased but at an enormous price. My landlord, when he saw my concern, relieved me from my difficulty: he asked what was the strength of my purse, that he might buy victuals and arms for me. I produced my zimpo, concealing the guilders. He said that they were far from sufficient. He then, to my great joy, brought out a gun and a sabre, saying, that

that he looked on me as an honest man, who would return at a future time to repair them; that he would lend me these, and I might restore them to him next time I should come this way. For three hundred zimpo, which was one half of my purse, he brought me meal, dried flesh, powder and ball. He gave me also many good rules for my conduct by the way.

The town of Silla is also subject to the King of Feene, and is his secondary place of residence. It lies on the Niger, and is larger than Feene, but of much worse architecture. It has but two high streets and a cross street. For the rest it consists of many low houses and huts, irregularly scattered about. Through the cross-street is a canal which runs to the Niger, and serves to supply the town with water. As stone is brought from a distance, there are not above an hundred buildings of this material: but the huts are rather numerous, though I cannot state their exact number. They are formed of the wood of the palm-tree, and covered with its leaves. The mosques and temples, about an hundred in number, are all of the branches of palm-trees, interwoven in a sort of basket-work, and covered with leaves. My good host, though himself a pious man, never questioned me about religion, nor asked me to accompany him

him to the mosques. One mosque beside the royal castle is built of stone, and even bricks which are brought from a great distance westward by the caravans, at scarcely less expence than a dollar each. The castle is a strong building of round stones, and fragments of rock, and is encompassed, on the north and west sides, with a wall. It is large and is garrisoned by three hundred Moorish horsemen, and three hundred infantry of the native inhabitants of the country. Trade is here considerable. Here are both cotton and woollen manufactures. A duty of ten per cent is levied on all foreign goods sold here. The market-place, though large, is on market-days so full of people, that it is difficult to make one's way through it. The inhabitants are Moors, Arabs, natives and Jews: the last are the slaves, who belong chiefly to the Arabs, and have much hard work to do. Almost every Arab has from ten to twenty slaves, who are negroes, and perform all work, whether in the house or the field. By the Mahometans, who are so much decried, slaves are much better treated than by the Christians in the colonies. Christians are rarely reduced to slavery in this country, yet are treated with much contumelious oppression.

On the 3d of May I left this town and proceeded with the caravan. They went northward, travelling

velling very slow, partly because the heat was excessive, and in part because the camels were heavily loaded. The road was good, but after travelling five miles through the village of Muta, and over a hill which we were two hours in crossing, we stopped at the village of Saatata for that night.

On the 4th of May we passed three villages in a sandy tract of ground, and halted for the night in a khan in the Sanoho, or Gold-mountain, where we had for ten zimpo a good supper of wolf's flesh.

On the 5th we made our way with difficulty up the gold mountain, which is entirely barren; exhibiting on its surface nothing but bare rocks and sand. I was told that gold was formerly procured from mines on this mountain, but that the King of Bambara, since he lost the towns of Fecne and Silla, had suffered the mines to go to ruin. It cost us three days to make good our passage over this mountain. On the second day, we came to a well that was inclosed, and which had served to furnish water from the mines. Two-and-twenty Arabs were leading their goats to drink at it. Had we been inferior in force, they would have attacked and plundered us. We took the loads off our camels, gave them food and water, and disposed them for the night in a circle round ourselves and the

the goods. Besides which, at the distance of every sixty steps, there was a man set to watch, lest we might be surprized by any sudden attack of robbers.

On the 7th we stopped at some huts inhabited by Arabs, and belonging to the kingdom of Nytokka.* We here rested a day, and in exchange for provisions procured some forage for our cattle.

On the 9th of May we entered the Galla Warahara, or the Desert of Lions, which is six days' journey in length; in breadth, two; and comes to the Doratah, or Poor Lake, which is so named probably, because, except in the rainy season, it does not afford water, and never good water.

Whilst we took our noon refreshment in this place, some of our travellers went upon the sands, where there had been no water for six months, and found some large shell-fish, which we roasted, and ate with great appetite. We came next to a place where a community of people lived in caves

* I know not whether this may not be the kingdom distinguished on the map by the name of Gaby. It belongs to a poor king, who, in his necessities, trafficks for slaves and hides with his neighbours. His country is a wilderness or desert, and is but ten or twelve miles long, and four broad.

on the mountains. They were named Seigmarton, had no king nor chief, but lived happily together without any government, and were good soldiers. When war arises among their neighbours, these people serve those who pay them the best. They are brave and high spirited. For hire, they are ready to attend as guides and protectors on caravans, which, however, they themselves rob at times of their cattle and goods. From this place we passed a great sand, six days journey in length. It was not without the greatest difficulty we could make our way farther over the rocks and sand-hills. There are many instances of caravans travelling over these deserts, having been entirely overwhelmed and buried in the sand by the north or west wind. Even in the deserts there are huts of the Arabs scattered among the sand-hills. With a horde of these people not exceeding the number of two hundred souls, we rested to refresh ourselves all day on the 13th, and they were sufficiently kind to us: they observed what we wanted, brought us wood from a distance to roast a goat that we killed, and were constantly about us. We gave them in return an hundred zimpo, the remains of the goat, and some other flesh.

On the 14th in the evening, we proceeded farther, taking with us from those huts twenty men
to

to explore the way before us, and kept watch on both sides of the caravan, lest we should be surprized by robbers. We found every day channels of brooks of considerable width; but they were at this time mostly dry. We found no more huts; but saw here and there a few Arabs and Moors, who came no nearer than to see that we were well armed.

On the 19th in the morning, we fell in with a horde of Muhojadenes: this strong and warlike nation inhabit a territory fifty miles in diameter.* They found here and there fertile spots in the sandy waste, on which they raise gourds and millets. They have also goats which they procure in barter from the neighbouring nations. They may be reckoned the most respectable of the inhabitants of the desert: with the Moors they are constantly at variance. At our arrival here they gave us assistance to unload our camels, supplied the animals with water and forage, and supplied ourselves with curdled milk and water. It was fortunate for me

* They possess a small tract north-west from this desert, which is not above 24 square roods in extent. I know not whether they be of the Zarenzegas whom the maps represent in the same place. The people of the caravan called them Careater, and said they had no Chief.

that

that I had a sufficient supply of provisions, for the inhabitants are exceedingly poor, and have little else to subsist on besides indifferent roots, and the inner bark of some trees.

Towards evening we renewed our journey, and proceeding towards the north-east, came next morning to a village of more than five hundred huts. Here dwelt the Chief of the Muhojadenes, to whom we were obliged to pay for each person, a toll of ten zimpo. In the afternoon we ascended another great sand-hill, and were attacked by a horde of Carcaters, whom however we repulsed without suffering any injury from them. In the evening we rested by the side of a brook, near to which we caught three young ostriches, of which we made a good supper. The night was alarming, for there arose a thunder-storm with a tempestuous wind, which threatened to overwhelm us with sand. The sands were driven in heaps upon us; and we must have found our graves here if the storm had lasted longer. The wind luckily blew at last from the south, and was then less dangerous according to the account of my fellow-travellers, than they had often known it. When we were to set out in the morning, we were confined from taking but one way; and the wind blew straight from that quarter toward which we set our faces.

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We struggled on, and in the evening came to the Zooto river, which was nearly dry. We passed the night in a village beside it, which was named Wohga; and rested there likewise on the following day. The tract in which this lies, is two days journey in length, and one in breadth; and is inhabited by a small agricultural nation who are named the Talhatenes. They have no intercourse with either Moors or Arabs, but live in peace and freedom. Their skin is of a reddish brown colour, their countenance somewhat of the expression of that of a spaniel; they are short and thick, and go entirely naked; and they are good-natured and hospitable. They let us have their huts, and slept themselves in the open air. The country they inhabit is moderately fruitful; and it is enriched in the rainy season by the overflowing of the river which intersects it.

On the 24th, in our ascent up a mountain, we fell in with troops of Moors, who offered us no injury, but, as is usual for these people, asked us for a present, and obtained it. In the evening we came to a horde of Arabs, with whom we lodged.

From the 25th to the 30th, we came again into a sandy desert, with rocks here and there scattered over it. We were passing on in a melancholy

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mood, when we came to two brooks, which to our disappointment were dry; and for three days, under a scorching heat, we suffered inexpressible torments by thirst. We hoped at last to find the expected river, but were again mistaken. Faint and exhausted we came, on the 1st of June, in the evening, to sixty-four huts belonging to the kingdom of Watometh.* The leader of the caravan, asked the villagers, whether the caravan might rest in safety, and whether the cattle belonging to it could have fodder there? the chief asked, whether he was to have a present? Hewas answered that he should, and that neither he nor his people should be molested by us. He immediately ordered his people to bring water for our cattle, to provide them fodder, and to take off their loads. All was done in great order. For the greater security, our most valuable goods were placed in separate huts. When the cattle were satisfied, we were likewise asked to appease our hunger and thirst, but our food was from our own stores;

* By the account of my fellow-travellers, these people once lived in Barbary, under King Athgomed; but after freeing himself from the payment of a tribute to Trepali, he oppressed his subjects, and suffered many of them to be murdered by foreign soldiers. Those who fled from his tyranny formed a free state in Wolomath.

and we were obliged to be content with very indifferent water. Our leader alone was supplied, by the people of the village, with meat and milk. Next day, twenty of the best shooters of our party went out, and brought in some ostriches, and a wolf to be dressed. We passed this day of rest, sufficiently to our satisfaction; forming a close friendship with the people by whom we were entertained. At noon we set ourselves in a row before the huts, and were numbered by the chief and asked for payment. Our leader then took out his purse, and gave for each of us ten zimpo for the inhabitants of the village, and three zimpo, for the chief himself. When the money was divided, the inhabitants gathered round us, made a fire, and danced about it. Our commander laid himself down to sleep, but gave orders that some men should keep watch, and that the rest should hold themselves in readiness to rise, and fight for their defence, at the first shot they should hear fired. On the third at day break, we left the village. We had not gone more than a few hundred paces, when it began to rain, and the wind grew tempestuous. We halted about half an hour; and then, the storm still continuing, went back to the village, where the inhabitants were very glad to see us. On the 5th, the wind and rain ceased. We then went on, over a chain of mountains extend-

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ing towards the west; and had to swim, at the peril of our lives, over an arm of the river Sampi, which was much swollen by the rains. We passed the night under shelter of a clump of trees, and early in the morning, proceeding along a sandy plain, we came to the boundary of the kingdom of Tomohata or Targa; where we were ordered by our leader to be on our guard, as we were about to encounter a rude and fierce nation. We had not travelled above another hour, when a troop of Moors came suddenly upon us, and demanded a present. Our leader said, he would not refuse a present, but would only give it at a village, and to the chief. They, thereupon, fired on us, killed one of our camels and its two drivers, and were advancing upon us. We fired in our turn, and some of them fell; but their company did not give way. We fired three times, killed some others of them, and brought them to halt, but not yet to flee. While we were considering what steps to take, came a troop of Arabs, who had their residence on a height at no great distance. The Moors, upon this took to flight; they were cloathed only with rags, very like their brethren whom I saw in one of the kingdoms already mentioned. We buried our dead friends in the sand, distributed the burthen of the camel in equal portions upon the other camels, and proceeded to the Arabian villages.

villages. The people there told us, that it was not on our account they had come out, but that, when they heard the firing, they supposed that the Moors had attacked a caravan of their own, which they expected to arrive with salt. We had brought the flesh of the slaughtered camel, and we now roasted it for our meal, giving, at the same time, a part to our hosts, by whom we were supplied with milk and flour. The country around this village is exceedingly fruitful, affording dates and plum-trees, wild quadrupeds and fowls in abundance. Men who are industrious and active require no more. I saw here several birds called the wild Flaggy, of different sizes. Enquiring concerning the Chief of this country, I learned, that at the distance of a day's journey was a village in which dwelt a King, who possessed other villages, with the domain in which they stood. They knew here little of the other villages, but only of the King's, to whom they paid a tribute, and were governed for him by an Emir, his deputy. I was curious to see this man, and found him to be a very old and a good man. When he heard that I had been attacked by the Moors, he called the horde together, and sent out a party to meet the caravan which had gone for salt.

The direct road hence would properly have been to the north-east, but, as we saw an immense sand-hill, where also we expected some robbers to be lodged, for our better safety we turned to the north-west. On the 8th we set off, passed through the beautiful plain, in which the village is situated that we left, and on the right and left of our road found about three hundred separate huts, but we, however, made no stop till we came, in the evening, to another horde of Arabians. We rested only a few hours, for as the moon shone very clearly we marched on, and were followed by a number of lions, who several times seemed on the point of attacking us, but at the heat of day they left us. On the ninth at mid-day our conductor shewed me at a distance a mountain, which, he told me, was the border mountain of my country, and that I should enter it on the next day. I was much surprised that this man should mention my country, as if it were in the neighbourhood, but I soon recollected, that on my first seeing him, I had said, that I was a gunmaker from Biledulgerid. I now pondered in my mind, how I should conduct myself on entering into this country; I could not get rid of my anxiety, though my hair, which was now quite frizzled, my long beard, and my complexion turned into a brown by the sun, sweat and dirt, made me look exactly like an African; and I could scarcely

scarcely myself conjecture that I was a Christian; a character which no one would assume who wished to travel in safety in these countries. The chief obstacle, however, was in my language, by which my comrades, as soon as we came into Biledulgerid, would have discovered the fraud, for I could neither speak nor understand the language of the country.

On these considerations I made a resolution to leave the caravan at a favourable opportunity, and to travel farther, either alone or with the caravans I might meet, and I made enquiries of several camel leaders as to the disposition of the neighbouring nations; I could, however, obtain no certain intelligence, for some described them as a good sort of people, and others, on the contrary, as a nation of cruel robbers. We passed the night in a wood; when some Arabians and Zuenzigans, who dwelt on the west, visited us, selling us milk and melons at a very low rate, and treating us in a very friendly manner. My comrades informed me that the Zuenzigans were a poor, but a very well disposed people; that they had no fixed abodes, but resided chiefly to the westward. I asked a man of this nation, whether, if I were willing to travel into his country, to repair arms, I should be well received by his countrymen. He returned me no

answer, for he could not, as I perceived, understand me; but he pointed to our conductor, signifying that he understood his language, and would interpret for us. In the night I altered my plan, and proceeded on the 11th onwards with my company. After a march of six hours we arrived at the range of border mountains, which run from north-east to west in a double range, of a sickle-shaped shape, inclosing the country.

CHAP. XIV.

Description of various Inhabitants of the Desert of Sahara—The Caravan comes to the Border-village of Mathby—Mungo Park's exaggerated Praises of the Border-Inhabitants, corrected—Account of the Inhabitants of Biledulgerid, their Trade—Of the Mussulmen, their Manners, Customs, National Character and Religion—The Caravan comes to the Village of Naykaksh, to the Hamlets of Hatynay, and to the little Town of Ewysach, where the Author falls ill of a Fever, and is left behind by the Caravan—The Author lodges in the next Village as a Patient with a Jew, and upon his Recovery Travels onward with some Moors on Horseback, through the Land of the Prince Akumba Makomet, to Tegerarin, where the Moors sell him to a Slave-dealer, who employs him as a Joiner, and conveys him, on the 20th of February, 1790, with four young female Slaves, to Amozab, and sells him to a Mussulmen—Journey to Mezzabath—Description of this Town—The Author is sold to a Native who, four months after, sells him to a Trader from Morocco, with whose Caravan he travels to Morocco.

AS I have described the desert of Sahara, and am now standing upon its borders, it may here be proper to say something on the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The desert of Sahara is inhabited by different nations, who differ from each other in language, customs, and manners. The principal nations are the following. 1. The Moors, who reside here and there from the kingdoms of Suez, Fez, and Morocco, to the Niger, and inhabit also a tract of country without the desert, on the south of Biledulgerid, are little esteemed by the moorish inhabitants of the desert, from whom they have either been driven away or deserted. They have each their separate chiefs, who are generally selected from the oldest among them, and are sometimes called Emirs. They wander about, constantly armed with fusils and sabres, and think it no crime to attack and plunder a traveller. Murder, whether of a native or stranger, is punished with death. 2. The Arabians are also numerous, and live in constant dread of the Moors. They are too well known to require any farther description from me. 3. The Mograns are a strong well-disposed people, given to trade and agriculture, and have among them some manufacturers. 4. The Trafarts are a weak and stupid nation, trading with the Europeans, by whom they are highly esteemed, as they are easily cheated, and live very peaceably.

peaceably. 5. The Braknards are tolerably strong, carry on trade with the French, English, and Spanish, to whom they convey slaves in abundance, either stolen from or purchased in other nations. 6. The Jews, who live scattered here and there, and either carry on trade or do slavish work. Besides these, there are about twenty smaller nations, of little estimation,

The neighbourhood of the Niger, inhabited by several small tribes, is fruitful; as this river, like the Nile, every year overflows and fertilizes the country. On the north-side, however, the country is barren and covered with sand; small spots only are to be found here and there, situated in the sands, like islands, and producing trees and vegetables; these are also tilled and cultivated by the Arabians. The inhabitants of the desert are fond of freedom, but from want of union with each other, they cannot always maintain it; and there are kings to be found in several nations. The Arabians only, when their freedom is attacked, will defend it to the last drop of their blood. They, indeed, select from the oldest among them their Emirs, who cannot, however, undertake any thing without the co-operation of the eldest of their nation or circle. The Moors are addicted to laziness, without either agriculture or cattle, living either
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by robbery, or when such means fail, going into the service of neighbouring princes and chiefs. As to religion, the Arabians are Mahometans, but it is not easily ascertained to what religion the Moors and the other nations belong. Their creeds and ceremonies are a mixture of Mahometan, Jewish, and heathenish doctrines and ceremonies: hence every one is ignorant, superstitious, and led away by designing priests. Every species of religion is tolerated, easily taken up and as easily laid down. Circumcision prevails almost universally, and is generally performed at the full moon. The most common weekly day of rest here is Friday, but, as in most towns the market is held on this day, it is kept as with the Jews, and begins on the Friday evening. On Saturdays devout persons never handle money, nor do business of any kind. The priests are poor, can possess neither herds nor lands, but are maintained by their communities. They run about the country, like begging friars in Catholic countries, in quest of a maintenance, for which they educate the children. They also employ themselves in prophesying, telling fortunes, and the like. Neither priests nor parents are permitted to beat a child, for this belongs only to the oldest or grey-headed men in the family, as, they say that, did others beat a child, they would lose its love entirely. As these grey-headed men, however,

ever, from their weakness and age, had rather stay in their huts than run after children, many disagreeable qualities are permitted, which the others cannot correct. Thieving alone is excepted, which any persons may punish, though it be supposed that this is not occasioned by any bad disposition in the child, but by an evil spirit. The children of the Moors are for the most part instructed in the art of writing. The priests copy their letters, words or sentences chiefly out of the Koran, and as paper is very scarce and dear, they write on slates. Among those nations, which are without a King, the eldest of the families or villages decide in all cases, but with this restriction, that in weighty or criminal cases the grey-headed men of several villages are called together, to concur in the sentence. Also, in those parts where kings are allowed to govern, the grey-headed men are very highly esteemed, so that, if the King sentence any one to death, they are listened to in mitigation of the sentence, which is seldom passed in opposition to their opinion.

In most parts of this great desert hospitality is less exercised than in the other neighbouring countries. If a traveller has money he must pay; as only poor and plundered travellers are taken care of for nothing. Near the hut of the elder and judge of
a village,

a village, stand generally two huts, kept in good order by the community; one for the traveller himself, and the other for his horses and cattle: each member of the community contributes to the judge, at certain times, meal or milk, or meat, or millet, or something or another for the use of travellers. Besides, every traveller has a right to expect from the inhabitants of the first hut which he enters, milk, or in failure of it, water, and then he is conducted to the judge, where he may stay four-and-twenty hours. Travellers without money are, however, alas! very ill entertained, and sometimes driven instantly out of the village, often after a stay of a few hours, but they are then conducted to the next village or the next horde. If the traveller is seen to have money, they give him to understand, that he must make a present to the judge or to the community; if he does so, he obtains a good night's lodging, is well entertained, and on his departure a very friendly leave is taken of him. At any rate, a traveller may trust the property he carries with him with his host: for whether he make a present or not, it will certainly be restored to him again, undisturbed and without injury.

The men purchase, steal, or otherwise procure their livelihood; but the women must get their meals

meals ready, and if they have no female slaves, must milk the cows, fodder them, and drive them to pasture. Their chief daily meal is in the evening, when the whole household is assembled. Those who have employment in the fields, begin at sun-rise, and end at sun-set. The men go every day, to the chase if the weather permit, or to their trade, or sometimes to plunder. Potters, smiths, linen and silk-weavers are here to be found. Their clothes or mantles are wretchedly bad, which according to the wealth or respect of the wearer are long or short, edged with a broad or small border. On the head a turban is worn: about the feet leathern thongs are bound. Many of the women dress their hair. None ever takes his wife into company, for the sexes are kept constantly apart. On solemn festivals, the women cannot appear at the plays or dances till the sun is gone down. Unmarried women can only in the day take part in such amusements.

Every where the women are very slavishly treated, and must not eat with their husbands, but can only get what is left by them and their children, from which also they must give the slaves their portions. A man may marry as many wives as he pleases; but adultery on the part of the woman, is punished with death. Divorces are not allowed,

allowed, unless the woman be barren, in which case she has the right of taking back what she brought into the hut, and to form another matrimonial connection. The sons possess the inheritance of their fathers, the girls that of their mothers. If on the death of a man there are no sons, his inheritance goes to the next male relations; that of the wife to the next female relations. If both parents die, and leave children under age, they fall with the inheritance into the guardianship of the next of kin, or in failure of such relations, to the judge of the place.

Their chief riches consist of goats and sheep, of which some possess from two to three hundred. Only on high festivals one of their cattle is slain; for example, at a circumcision, a marriage, a rejoicing day, and the like. Goats and sheep that have died a natural death, are also eaten. The produce of the ground is kept, after harvest, in magazines under ground, and covered with palm leaves and earth. In many parts these magazines are in common; the judge has the inspection over them, and makes the division of the whole provisions. They deliver nothing into them, take nothing out, the sick and the children excepted. What remains at the end of the year is sold, and the money arising from the sale, is divided proportionally. A woman,

woman, on the birth of an infant, must spend four weeks together in a separate hut, of which each family has one, without appearing in publick, or receiving visits. She is there attended by a female slave, or a female friend. At the end of four weeks, she is conducted by her friends to a bath, and a feast is given in honour of her. The dead are buried in general on hills, with many ceremonies. The priest of the place goes before the corpse with the next of kin to the deceased, and the body is followed by the inhabitants of the village.—When it is placed in the ground, the bye-standers make a great howling, to keep off evil spirits, that so the deceased may rest in peace. When the corpse is in the grave, and before it is filled up, the relations light a fire, at which the priest, with various ceremonies and representations, divides among the bye-standers, pieces of root, which they cast into the fire, and burn to ashes. The ashes are then strewed over the face of the deceased, and the ceremony concludes, by raising a hillock of earth over the grave. In some nations the ceremony varies a little, but in general the customs are much the same. In some towns are public houses, where a man may dine for ten zimpo. Before he is served, he puts down the money, for which a dish is filled with vegetables, to be eaten with a spoon. If another person comes in, the

same dish filled with victuals is brought to him, and so in succession; for during the time of eating, the dish and the spoon are never cleaned.

When we had passed over the top of this range of mountains, we saw two other ranges, one of which runs from north-east to south, the other from north to west. The way was very bad, sometimes we had to clamber over sharp rocks, at other times leap over clefts, and we met with many other difficulties. On the thirteenth we came to a valley, which was for the greater part under water, and we were up to in our knees in going through it. In the high places was very fine grass, on which our cattle pastured; and here and there we saw some palm trees.

On the 13th, in the afternoon, we reached Mathhy, the first border village, consisting of an hundred huts, and about twenty miserable houses. In the first lived Arabians, in the second Moors. Here the desert of Sahara properly terminates; but before us were still some immense forests, swarming with wild beasts, and abounding with serpents. The inhabitants of the borders resemble the Moors, and the Arabians of the desert, in respect of manners and customs. They seem however to have no religion. Some geographers bestow too great
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encomiums on this people, when they describe them as mild and well disposed; and Mungo Park, in particular, celebrates their fame in a manner which they do not deserve.

The inhabitants of Biledulgerid near the borders, are free and independent; but those whose residence is within the country, are mere slaves to their chiefs, whom they must serve with limbs and life. They are simple and stupid, offering themselves up willingly to their chiefs, for the sake of a good name: but they bear their misery and slavery with mildness and good temper. Some geographers call this land fruitful, but I must maintain the direct contrary. In the east and southern parts there are deserts and rocks; in the west, ridges of sand hills and barren heaths. Here and there only, are some fruitful spots; which are cultivated by the inhabitants. The woods to the north produce date, palm, and tamarind trees, but part of them belong to Tripoli, and their produce can supply but a small part of the inhabitants with fruit. Here are wild beasts in abundance, but tame ones are scarce. When the harvest is over in the fruitful country, the remainder of the last harvest is sold or exchanged, in the following manner: the provisions are carried to the top of a mountain, a fire is made, a long pole is stuck in the ground, to which a cloth

is suspended on the top, as on a flag-staff. The inhabitants of the villages, who want provisions, on seeing it, come together and purchase or traffic for the fruit on sale. The inspectors, who are there, raise a tax both on the fruit which is sold, and on whatsoever is bought or exchanged for it. If both parties are contented the business soon ends. Skins, hides, ostrich feathers, and camels hair are brought to the great towns and there exposed to sale. In the market-places, as in Europe, there are tents and booths. In the former, fruits, colours, corn, and the like, are sold; the latter are provided with poles, skins, ostrich feathers, and ivory. The population of the Mussulmen, who are the proper inhabitants or natives of this country, is not considerable; and it seems, that the barrenness of the country extends itself to the human species: for there are few families here with more than two children. When war breaks out, all the male capable of bearing arms must take the field, except the resident Moors and Arabians, who levy a determinate number of troops and are excused; the first, because in times of peace they are for the most part under arms, and defend the country against robbers; the others, because they cultivate the ground take care of the cattle, and are necessarily employed in raising supplies for the army.

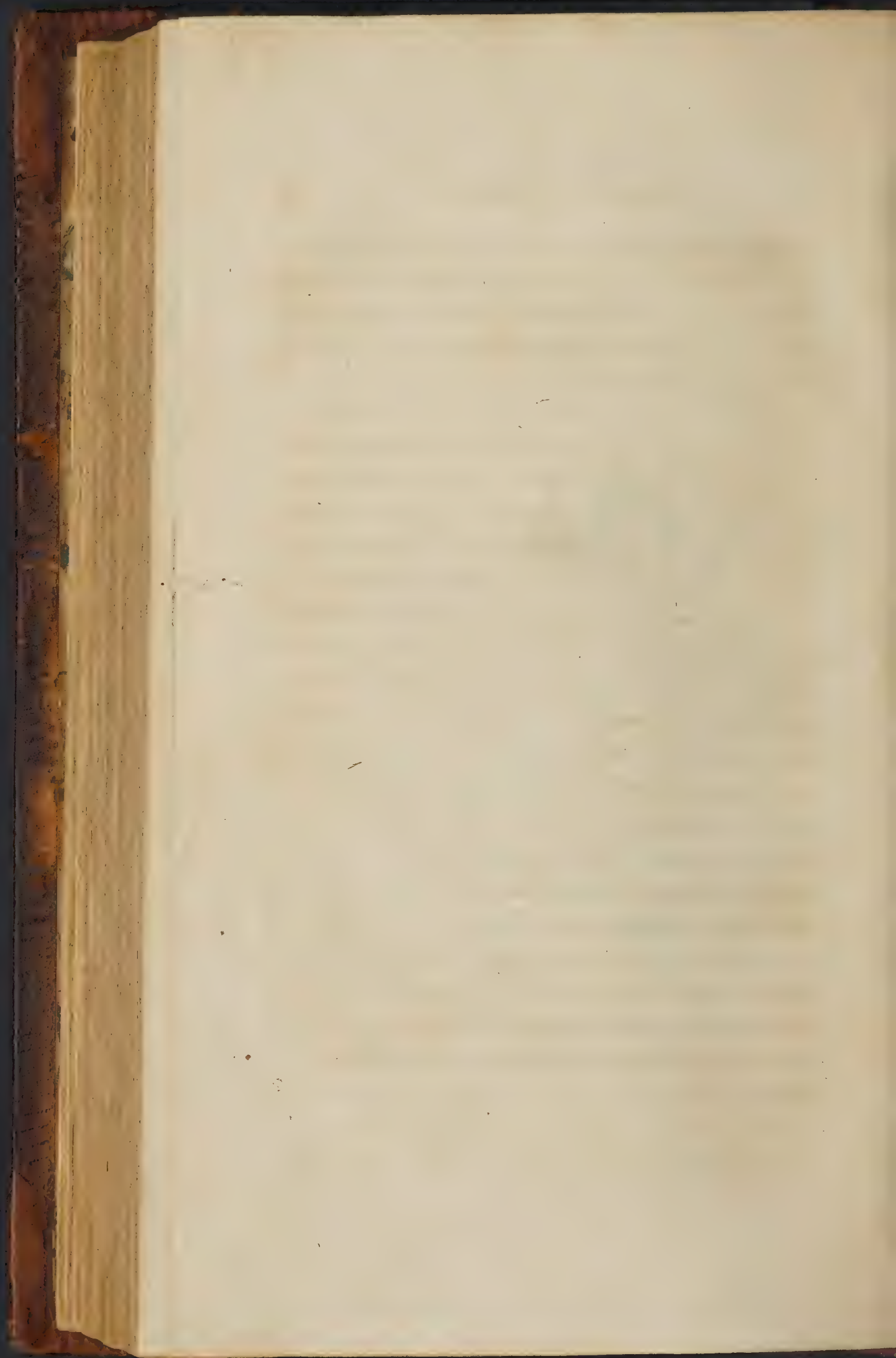
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The religion of this country is the Mahometan, but there are to be found heathens and idolators; and no where is religion attended to with the utmost strictness: there is no bigotry, every one may think and believe as he pleases, provided that he does not say he is a Christian. From this disposition they are little given to profelytism. The priests enjoy great liberty and peculiar privileges. If any of them are guilty of great crimes, they are not to be punished either by the chief or the elder; but the cause is to be decided by the rest of their brethren. Their maintenance is derived from the congregation, over whom they are entrusted with the direction. In general twenty or thirty families join together in the support of a priest and a mosch. It is customary for the priests to go to mosch at sun-rising and sun-setting, to deliver there a prayer, and to read to the persons present a lesson out of the Koran: besides this they keep school thrice a day in the open air, and instruct the children in the Koran, in writing, and in accompts. In the months of June and July no instruction is given, for they have then holidays. Most of the priests have from two to four wives, who are very much honoured and esteemed. The priests also practise physick, which however they never give to a sick man till he is recovering: for they believe and give it out, that

it is against the command of God and his prophet, and that sickness is a punishment, which ought not to be removed by the physician. When signs of recovery are perceivable, they say, that God and the prophet have removed the punishment, and it is now lawful to assist the weakness of the body. They are also soothsayers at marriage contracts, and when a lover has made choice of a female, their opinion is asked, which they give after a great deal of buffoonery, saying, "God and the great prophet are pleased with the contract; or they are not pleased with it." Circumcision is practised here according to the Mahometan custom; and the eldest of the family must always be present at it. When children quit their school, which is at their tenth or twelfth year, the son comes under the special inspection of the father, and the daughter under that of the mother, by whom they are prepared for their future mode of life: but if a young man wishes to go into Orders, he enjoys the instruction of the priest for a longer time, and resides in his house, and the father must then provide for the child's maintenance. The men employ themselves partly in hunting, partly in business; work with earth, wood, stone, and iron; make linen and silk, and are engaged in various other ways. The women and female slaves take care of the
house



*A Moor in the
Desart of Sahara?*



house and work in the field; but the men take care of the cattle, which are foddered by slaves. Most of the inhabitants of this country keep slaves, who go willingly into service, as they are here very well treated.

Among their moveables, there is nothing prized so much by the men as their gun and their sabre, which they take with them, if they go only fifty or a hundred steps from home. Every inhabitant is permitted to carry these with him on the road, the Jews only excepted, who are prohibited from using them. The chiefs and governors cannot determine arbitrarily in weighty matters; they must take counsel with the elders, and may then execute or mitigate the punishment decreed, but they cannot increase it. Thieving, if the thief be caught in the act, is punished severely. But if a person be suspected only, no one can speak of it, nor search the house. If a Jew be suspected, his house may be searched by the suspector and an elder, the latter being requested to attend: and if the least thing be found here, stolen from him or any other native, the Jew is instantly laid on his back, and flogged, on the belly, till he dies.

Most people are cleanly in their cloathing. The women daub their lips and eyeballs with a red colour, frizzle their hair and powder it with a red powder. This is not the case every day, but always on Fridays, which is their weekly Sabbath. The dead are carried, if it be any way possible, and buried on high mountains, with their faces turned to the earth. Over the grave are raised, in general, small round blocks of stone, on which the relations of the deceased, at certain times, place flowers, food, and wood, and inscribe what has lately happened in the county in their family.

I return now to my journey: it seemed likely to be soon ended; but I was destined to more troubles and perplexities. On the 14th we had a day of repose: on the 15th we travelled onward, and left the chain of mountains rather on the east. About mid-day we came to the first village inhabited by the Mussulmen, and called Naykakoh. Several of the inhabitants came running half a league to us, and asking whether we would pass the night with them, and on our declining it, appeared very sorrowful, still walking with us. In the village ostrich flesh and millet cakes were distributed among us, for which our conductor paid ten zimpo a head. With this they were very well contented.

tented, and said, that if we would stay the night there, nothing farther would be required from us. As we had predetermined to go on to Hatynaji, we soon set off again, and went over a sand hill, which from the late rains was as hard as ice, and covered with a wet greasy dust, on which we ran great risque of sliding and falling down. At sunset we reached Hatynaji, and passed the night in a caravan house. This place contains about four hundred houses and huts, and is situated in a fruitful country, a league from the river Coemtani.

From the 16th to the 19th, during constant rain and wind, we passed over a high mountain, and saw nothing of importance, excepting some miserable villages. Near steep mountains, and on barren plains, we saw here and there some palm-trees; and in the morning were obliged to keep a good look out, as at times lions, tygers, wolves, baboons, and other animals were making their way to the river to drink.

On the 19th at mid-day we came to the little town of Evyfach, but found none of the conveniencies which we expected, and had besides a very bad night's lodging. This place is inhabited by Arabians, Moors, natives, and Jews; is extensive in its buildings, which however, are only miserable

able houses and huts on the declivity of a hill running from south to north. Here, unfortunately, I was seized with a fever, owing to the rain of the last three days, which had kept me constantly wet to the skin. The attack was so violent that I could not stand on my feet, but was obliged to lie on the ground. The caravan refused to take me with them on their departure, for they thought that my disorder was infectious, and when they were gone, our host too, would not permit me to stay in the caravan house. By many entreaties I obtained a delay of a few days; but as on the 23d I observed no symptoms of recovery, he turned me out of the house. I went to several houses and huts, and begged to be admitted, but no one had pity on me, so that I crawled out of the city to Omothy, a village about a league to the westward.

On my way to Omothy I was caught in a violent shower, which wet me through, and so weakened me, that I could scarcely stand. Whilst I was bending over my staff just to rest myself, some Jews, who came out of the village, and were going into the town, stepped up to me, and asked me whether I was ill. I replied, yes, and yet no one will take pity on me, or give me a lodging. One of the Jews, a young man, spoke privately a few words

words with the oldest, who then asked me whether I had any money? Not much I replied, for I am only a working man, and have not had any work for some time. Upon this he gave me his stick, and said, "Go on into the village, my house is the sixth on the left hand, shew this stick, and say that its master has promised you a lodging." I crawled on and got safe to the village. Before this house I found a lad, to whom I shewed the stick, and asked, whether the man to whom the stick belonged was master of that house. Yes, he replied, the stick belongs to my father. Whilst I was speaking to the boy, two Moors stepped up, and asked me who I was, and whom I wanted? I am a workman, I replied, who fell ill of a fever in the town about a league off, and as no one would give me a lodging, was compelled to travel farther. On my way hither a man met me, whose stick I have here in my hands, enquired what was the matter with me, and on my begging a lodging, sent me hither to his own house. What is your business? What work can you do? I am a carpenter and joiner. What are you ill of? I now told them what had happened to me in the way, and how I had caught my illness, but they did not understand me, for they are not acquainted with the fever, and they asked whether I should die of this disorder? I answered, no; for it only weakens the
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the frame. Upon this one of them said, we will come to see you again to-morrow, and if you are well, will procure you some work, and take care of you, and then they went away.

The lad conducted me into a little hovel behind the house, brought me a bundle of straw and some palm leaves, and left me. Here I did not lie much better than in the open air, for it rained through at all quarters, and there was no door. The fever weakened me by another still more violent attack, and I thought, that, as in so miserable a lodging I could not expect to get better, my end was not far distant. In the evening my host came to me, to whom I complained of my distress, and particularly of excessive thirst. He brought me a pot of water, coloured over with milk, for which he instantly demanded twelve zimpo. As I saw, that I should be obliged to pay, I entered into an agreement with this man, paid him the twelve zimpo he required, and promised on every day following to pay him ten zimpo. No one had compassion on me; I was kept like a wretched beast in a miserable hovel and thorough air, and could not expect to recover. In the evening only my host let me see him, when he came for his promised ten zimpo, and took the opportunity of bringing me some meal and water. Once I expressed my surprise, that

that they should leave me in so miserable a place, and refuse me entrance into the house. I soon heard, however, that this Jew was infected with false notions of religion; for he told me, that God had punished me, and so long as he was angry with me, no one could receive me, lest my punishment should fall upon him. One day when the fever was not upon me, I wished to go out, but was charged by my host to stay within, for he said, that, if his neighbours saw that he had lodged a sick stranger, I should be thrown into prison, and a fine would be imposed upon him. I believed this at first, but was soon after better instructed: for some days after, one of his female slaves visited me, and told me, that her master took me for a Frenchman in disguise, and conjectured, that I had brought a good deal of money with me, which he would take to himself, when I died, as he hoped, and then he would privately bury me. If I did not die, and did not, on my departure, make him a considerable present, he would raise a false report about me, and then sell me, probably, as a slave to some trader.

It rained hard till the sixth of July, during which time I remained quietly in my hut, but as soon as the sun shone out again, I forced myself up, and got out to enjoy the fresh air. My host endeavoured

endeavoured to frighten me by all sorts of speeches, but I paid no attention to them, and kept firm to my purpose. He then wished to keep my papers and my mantle, for he thought that the Moors would quickly take these things from me. I would not however allow of this, for I saw clearly that he spoke so merely out of covetousness: and I told him he ought not to think that I was his slave, for I owed him nothing, and could, in spite of any opposition on his part, at any time go away to another lodging. When he saw that he could not detain me, he let me go, but sent his son with me as a guard, that, as he said, he might know where I chose to stay. The above mentioned slave had spread it abroad, that I was a Christian, on which account the Moors, who passed me at every step, had no compassion on me.

On the 7th the two Moors, who had spoken to me on my arrival in the village, paid me a visit, and enquired after my welfare; and when I described to them my wretched situation, and pointed out to them my miserable hut, they advised me to leave the Jew, and to travel to Tegoarin, where I should be better taken care of, and should also find work. They offered also to take me with them, as they were going thither in a few days. I thanked them
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for their goodness, but represented that I was unable to stir two hundred steps farther on foot. They then promised to procure me a horse, and to fetch me, and desired me particularly to be ready by the next morning for my departure.

A soon as they were gone, the Jew ran instantly up to me, to know what these people had said, and whether I was acquainted with them. "I am very well acquainted them," I replied, "and shall soon take my journey with them, for I shall never recover my health in this hovel." This surprised him, and he became more friendly, advising me not to travel with Moors, who would certainly sell me, and promising to take me to his brother, about four days journey off, where I might work, and have better conveniences. "Who can sell me," said I, "I am neither Christian nor Negro: I am a free man, and may work where I please in the country." The Jew looked at me with astonishment, and asked me, Where is your home? Not far hence. My King would certainly take vengeance of those who should sell me as a slave. I now again complained of his ill treatment, but received no consolation, for he left me. On the following day I did not stir out, as the Jew had told me, that he would bring me some physick; and in fact he brought

brought me in the evening a powder, which, when he was gone, I stuck under my straw; as I placed no confidence in him, I did not take it. On the ninth, four armed Moors came to the house on horseback, with a led horse, and asked my host whether I was awake. He answered, that I could not set off so early in the morning, as he had given me some physick to take. The Moors not being satisfied with this answer; two of them dismounted and came into the yard; and as the Jew attempted to push them out, they drew their sabres; the Jew then ran away, and they came to the hovel, and called out to me to follow them. I did so, but was held back by the Jew, who now hurried up to me, and asked me what I was doing. I am going away, I replied. I have paid you for every day, what more can you desire of me? You have not paid me, he said, for my labour and physick; and till that is done you have no right to go. He now seized me by the arm, and would have led me back again; but the Moors would not permit him, and added menaces. This, however, did not prevent him from holding me fast, and the better to keep me, he seized me by the hair. Upon this the Moors were in a passion, drew their sabres, and beat him; and during this disturbance, I ran out of the house, got on horseback, and rode away, followed by the Moors.

A horrid

A horrid wood was in our way ; we saw only single huts, till we came to a beautiful village, where we passed the night. Here Arabians, Moors, Jews, and Mussulmen live together. As soon as I came into the public or caravan house, I threw myself down on the ground, entirely overcome with fatigue. My comrades entered into conversation for some time with the host, who was an Arabian ; he brought me a dish of young date sprouts, and asked me, what my disease was, and whether I expected to recover my health again. I replied, that I should soon recover, with good lodging and rest. He examined me for some time, and then left me. From several circumstances I conjecture, that the Moors had an inclination to sell me here ; but as the host found an objection in my illness, they could not come to an agreement. A female slave brought a heap of palm leaves, on which I laid myself down, and fell quietly asleep, without any sort of care about my future destiny. In the morning the fever came on me again very violently, and as I was tormented with thirst, I ran into the host's room to seek for water ;—here I saw a dish of four milk, which I instantly seized, and, from my torture, emptied it almost completely. On returning back to the couch my fever left me, and indeed for this time it quitted me entirely. I had to

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thank the four milk alone for my recovery, and I was heartily glad to get rid thus of my misery. I must add here, that the villages and places which I passed through from the borders hither were Republican, and did not pay taxes to any prince.

Travelling onward on the 11th, we passed by several villages, belonging to the prince Akumba, Mahomed *, very ill built, and with seemingly very poor inhabitants. Between these villages we found some Arabian hords, in which I every where remarked great poverty. Bad as the country is, for it is every where covered with sand hills, with only here and there a few date-trees; the population is very great, and from twenty to thirty villages are seen in a day's journey. We passed the night with an Arabian horde, consisting, as they said, of three thousand persons, and which is the largest in this country. Their Emir resides in his own palace, a half day's journey off to the north. On the 12th we ascended a part of the chain of mountains, twelve days journey in length,

* I do not find this country in any of my maps, . It is four days journey in length, from east to west, and a day's journey in breadth, from north to south. It is governed by an Emir, who, by his knowledge in various ways, discovers a manifest superiority over the other princes of Barbary

covered with forests, and filled with tygers, lions, wolves; and other wild beasts, which make the passage very unsafe, and here particularly great herds of elephants are seen. My guides, who were born and bred in this country, said, that they had never heard of any one who had passed through this woody range, from south-east to north-west, as every one was in dread of the numerous monsters to be found in the journey; and if any one had attempted it, he would most assuredly have been torn to pieces by ravenous beasts. Before we reached the little spot adjoining to this range, my guides stood still in terror, expecting every moment a herd of wild beasts, but we saw nothing except a few hundred porcupines, and other small animals. We now arrived at a vast lake, deriving its waters from the mountains, and on the south side a river flowing from it, named by the Moors Serobago, or Mountain River. Leaving the lake on one side, we reached in a few hours, just as it was dark, Tinesalb: here it was intended to sell me, and not to convey me to Tigorarin, which lies two leagues farther off. We took up our lodgings at the public-house, and found there tolerable entertainment. Three of my guides went out, as I observed, to see whether they could sell me; one remained with me, and talked of our farther journey, probably to lull me

into security. An hour after the other three came back, and soon made known their intentions, for one of them said, "You may stay here, and tomorrow you shall have some work." "Not as a slave, however," I replied. "No, no," was the answer. When I rose in the morning, two of my guides led me to an inhabitant of the village, who asked me, from what country I came, and what work I could do. I replied that I was born a subject of the king of Haoussa, and travelled as a carpenter and joiner, and gun-maker. After some conversation, the man asked me, whether I had recovered my health, and whether my father was a Moor. I assented to both questions.—"Good," said he, "then stay with me, and I will give you employment." Meal and milk were now brought to me; my guides carried away two goats and two sheep, and took leave of us. After I had eaten my new host, who was now my master, as well as a carpenter and slave-dealer, ordered me to look out for some pieces of good timber, and to make something as a proof of my expertness. I looked out for some pieces, and went into the workshop, where I found a large broad hatchet, two great chissels, two borers, some knives, like shoemakers-knives, and a saw. With these instruments I made a little closet, with four shelves, with which, as I easily saw,

saw,

saw my master, who was a mere house-carpenter, was very much pleased. Guns were now brought to me, which I repaired, to the great satisfaction of their possessors. Good eating and drinking I had in plenty, but no money; for my master kept that to himself, but did not let me perceive that I was his slave. I made some childrens' coaches, some running chairs, for little children, little seats and the like, and could see that my host was well paid for my work; for example, he sold a child's coach for two good sheep.

On the 13th of February 1790, he brought four young female slaves into his house, and took them on the 20th to Omozab *. For this journey he took me with him, without saying that I should not return again, but merely pretended that I should serve as a guard. He gave me his gun; I went behind, and he himself rode on before. When we had gone about a league, the youngest and prettiest of the slaves looked at me several times with a most piteous aspect, but I did not understand her signs, and after going another half league, she could walk no farther, but set herself on the sand;

* A little town in the kingdom of Mezzab, a day's journey from Mezzabath, a town on the river Oniwoh.

and shewed me her feet, which were fore from the sand over which we had been travelling, I called out to my master that if he did not ride slower, this slave would perish, and that I should for my own pleasure go slower. This so incensed him, that he advanced towards me, and threatened that if I either staid behind, or attempted to run away, he would shoot me dead on the spot. "You shall first be shot yourself," said I, pretending to be very angry. I had scarcely pronounced these words, when he began to change his tone; he then dismounted, placed the female slave on the saddle, walked very slowly by my side, offered me a piece of turtle, and behaved in a very friendly manner.

About noon we arrived at a village, where he procured plenty of victuals and milk for us, and, after an hour's stay, we were ordered to proceed. When it began to grow dark, we crossed the River Oniwoh, in a boat constructed of eight planks, similar to what is called a flying ferry-boat, drawn from one side to the other by means of a rope stretched across the river. We entertained some hopes that our master would now stop, but in this we were deceived, and were obliged to continue on our way till midnight, when we arrived at Cartoh, a beautiful village, inclosed on one side with

with a wall. We passed the night in a house destined for the use of the caravans; and here the youngest of the female slaves, who was about twelve or fourteen years of age, was exchanged for three sheep. As it rained all the next morning, we halted some time, and then continued our journey, through several villages, till the following day, when we reached Cofjahata. Here we were again obliged to cross the river already mentioned, and having arrived, towards evening, at Omozab, we had to cross it once more. Omozab is a neat little town, consisting of about three hundred houses, and thirty or forty huts; the latter standing by themselves on the north side of the town, and inhabited by Arabs and Jews. At this place, to my great surprise, I was exchanged for three sheep and a horse, and became the property of a Mussulman, who was a merchant. I heartily cursed my old master, and much more the deceitful Moor; but this repining did not better my situation, and I was forced to submit to my fate. Fortunately, however, I found my new master to be a good-natured, worthy man, who, although a Mahometan, esteemed and respected all, even those who were not of his own religion; and he rewarded such of his slaves as diligently executed his commands. On the first day he addressed me in the following manner: "You are a Christian,

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but

but I will not hurt you on that account; I bought you at a high price, but I shall not regret my bargain if you are diligent, and behave as you ought; nay, if, after some time, I find you to be an honest man, I will provide for you in such a manner as you have but little idea of at present." His friendly aspect, and mild manner of speaking, as well as his kind behaviour towards the other slaves, entirely gained my affection, and made me resolve to render myself deserving of his care and attention. A small cottage was assigned me where I could once more sleep comfortably, in the confidence that I was in the hands of a worthy man. On the next day the merchant asked me whether I had tools proper for repairing fire-arms. I shewed him the few I possessed, and told him I had been robbed of the rest. He immediately conducted me to the house of a person who dealt in tools, and ordered me to take such as I wanted. This day he would not permit me to do any work, but on the next I took his best piece, repaired it, and put it in the best order possible. As my master now perceived that I was an expert workman, and that my labour would produce him considerable profit, he became still more kind to me, and ordered me to be supplied with the same food and drink as himself used, nay, he would sometimes save for me part of a rare or savory dish. I had
lived

lived with this worthy man a year and three weeks, when he proposed to take me with him to Mezzabath, where he had business to transact. I was at once to guard him on the road, as well as assist him in his commercial transactions. We departed, on the 3d of May 1791, travelled through a wood, and across some vallies, and, in the evening, arrived at Mezzabath. This is a handsome and rather a large town, on the River Oniwoh, consisting of about a thousand houses, some of them tolerably good, and others very indifferent, the whole arranged in three principal streets, with few cross streets. The former are sixty feet wide, raised near the buildings, but low in the middle. The streets are thus formed, in order that the river, when it overflows, may run freely through them. On the north side of the town stands a castle, surrounded with a ditch and a wall, which incloses also that side of the town. People of different nations are to be found here, as, indeed, is the case over the whole country. A considerable trade is carried on at Mezzabath; a number of caravans having chosen it as a general place of rendezvous, because many articles of commerce can be purchased here; and the country around being fertile, affords good and cheap fodder for beasts of burthen. On our arrival we found the town full of people and cattle; a kind
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of fair being now held, to which several caravans had brought goods for sale. There were many merchants from the kingdom of Morocco, with whom my master did a great deal of business; exchanging ivory, ostrich-feathers, and skins, for other merchandize. I was not an idle spectator, having to convey the purchased goods to a place of safety, and to deliver such articles as my master would not carry along with him, to the caravans which proposed to pass through his place of residence.

On the first day my master employed himself entirely in trading, and, as I could easily perceive, made considerable profits. He paid away considerable sums of money, and our tiger skin, or money-bag *, which I was obliged to carry every where after him, became, like Esop's burthen, lighter and lighter.

Several merchants fixed their eyes on me, and appeared to be much pleased with my diligence and activity; one of them, a friend of my master's, laid a snare for me, which involved me in great distress. One evening, while I was looking after

* It is made of a whole tiger's skin, and fastened on the horse's back, in the same manner as our portmanteaus.

my horses, and giving them fodder, this person, with the concurrence of the landlord, took away the tyger's skin which contained our money, and hid it in a corner. On my return I asked the landlord, whom I had previously requested to keep an eye on the bag, what was become of it? He desired me to go about my business, saying that he had something else to do than to watch my bag. I now became extremely uneasy, ran up and down, in the greatest distress, enquiring for my bag of every one I met, and, at length, seeing my master's friend, I asked him also.—But he, instead of an answer, gave me a blow on the head, and threatened that he would order his slaves to give me the bastinado. This put me out of temper, especially as the spectators were laughing at my expence. I flew at him in a moment, and gave him some smart blows about the head. Enraged at this salutation, he called aloud for his slaves, and ordered them to bind me, and keep me safe in custody; but as I was as little disposed to submit to them as to their master, I knocked down the first that approached me, flew to my master's musket, and, having got hold of it, desired them to retire, or I would blow their brains out! Upon this, none of them, ventured to approach me, but only threatened and scolded. Fortunately, my master returned at this moment. On entering

the place, and seeing me with his musket in my hands, he exclaimed, "What is the matter here?" He then wrested the piece from me, and would have struck me with it, but for the intervention of his friend, who then told him that he intended only to try me, and that he himself had been the cause of the confusion. "You have a faithful and courageous slave, said he, let me have him, and I will give you three fat goats in exchange for him." They then entered into a conversation respecting the proposed bargain, and much praise was bestowed upon me, while they sat drinking of sungfus *. After several bowls had been emptied, and both were somewhat intoxicated, the bargain concerning me was concluded. My master, at first, refused to sell me, but at length, he agreed to part with me for four fat goats. My new master was highly pleased that he thus got me into his service, but my old master, when recovered from his intoxication, attempted to start objections, which, however, were not admitted, and I was obliged to go with my new master, whose name

* Sungfus is a sort of palm-wine, or beverage, prepared by boiling the tender branches, and black berries of a particular species of palm-tree, and bears some resemblance to the German beer at Hirschberg.

was Zalaman Mahomed, residing at Mezzabath.

I expected hard treatment from this man, but was, happily, disappointed. He made me a kind of overseer, to look after fourteen of his slaves; and in respect to food, he provided for me much better than the former had done. I remained only four months in the possession of this worthy man, when he sold me to a merchant, who was returning to Morocco, with a caravan from Mecca.

CHAP. XV.

Departure of the Caravan from Mezzabath to Morocco.—Between the Cozul Mountains and the River Tegtat, the Caravan is attacked by a Band of roving Arabs; who kill four Slaves and three Camels, but are vanquished and put to flight.—The Caravan rests two days at Zहतamy, a Tripoline Village.—The Innahy, or Rainy Mountains.—Arrives at Azafia.—Description of the Kingdom of Morocco.—Account of the People, of the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Form of Government of the Empire, and of the City of Azafia.—The Author is treated kindly by his Master, who distinguishes him from other Slaves.—He is redeemed from Slavery by a private Agent of the French Republic, in the year 1796, in consequence of the Representation of his Case made by the Captain of a Dutch Ship, with whom he embarks for Holland.

ON the 6th of September my new master and I departed with the caravan. It consisted of merchants from various nations, of persons of distinction

unction who had been performing a pilgrimage to Mecca, and of slaves. We proceeded slowly on our journey, as the roads were bad, and our beasts were very heavily laden. Every day some of our company left the caravan, as we approached or passed their respective destinations. We travelled over mountains where the path was sometimes so narrow as only to permit the passage of one person at a time. We were constantly on the watch in these parts to prevent being surprised by the Arabs, as our caravan conveyed many valuable articles, which would have afforded rich plunder to those robbers. That which we apprehended actually happened on the seventh day after our departure, namely, on the 13th of September. A number of armed Arabs attacked us between the Cozul Mountains and the River Tegtat; killed four of our slaves and three camels, and, though they lost several men in the attack, obstinately continued the combat. We defended ourselves to the utmost of our power, and at length had the good fortune to repel the whole troop. The victory however was not obtained till two of our merchants and five slaves were wounded, besides the four that were killed. We preserved all our property, and the burthens of the slain camels were distributed among those that remained. My servitude now became extremely laborious.

laborious. One of the slaves belonging to my master had run away, two others were among those who were killed, and thus the care of two camels and two horses necessarily devolved upon me.

We remained two days at a small village named Zahtamy, which belongs to Tripoli, and is a very chearful, busy place, as several caravans touch there in their journies to Egypt and Mecca. Some of these remain there during what is termed their winter season. At this village we repacked our goods, and dressed the wounds of those who had suffered in our combat with the Arabs. From this period I could pay but little attention to the villages, towns, and other places we passed through, my time being too much engaged, having as much business on my hands as had been previously managed by three slaves. During the day I was on horseback, leading the two camels; in the evening I was obliged to feed them, to unload the bales, and in addition to all this keep watch every third night. When I wished to be informed of any thing I found myself greatly at a loss for want of a perfect knowledge of the language, as in the whole caravan there were only four merchants with whom I could converse. I, however, observed that the country situated to the
westward,

westward, is in many places fertile, and in others barren; but it is in general well inhabited. As far as the Innahy or rainy mountains, which lie in the centre of the kingdom of Morocco, and are from south to north, ten days journey in length, and one in breadth, we every day met with villages and cottages, particularly near the rivers; where we found good pasture for the cattle. Six resting days excepted, we had travelled eight-and-twenty days and three nights successively, when we arrived on the 11th of October, at Azafia.

The empire of Morocco is one of the most beautiful and fertile countries upon earth, but is not cultivated, as we might expect it to be, under a milder government. The despotism and capricious humour of the emperor proves an insurmountable bar to any efforts which the spirit of industry might produce among the natives, and reduces them to a state of indolence and indifference, bordering upon apathy. He who, by his provident and successful labour, has improved the soil which he cultivates, is on that very account deemed, as it were, obnoxious, and is forced to contribute in a larger proportion. Let the harvest be ever so abundant, the farmer must scarcely hope to retain a bare sufficiency for the support of himself and family. Either the emperor in person, or

his rapacious prefects, take every thing to themselves, and even employ force when the arts of cunning and fraud fail in obtaining their purposes. The present emperor, it is said, is not of so cruel and ferocious a temper as his predecessor was, yet a day seldom passes in which some unfortunate wretch is not executed by his orders, or even put to death by his own hands. The cruelty of this barbarian is nevertheless endured with the greatest patience; and the deluded victims even esteem themselves fortunate when they learn that they are to suffer by the emperor's own hands; indeed they revere him as a descendant of the great prophet, and consider all his commands as the decree of heaven. In the wildest and most unexplored regions of Africa, men more stupid and ignorant are no where to be found than in this empire.

As every male above the age of fifteen years, must serve as a soldier, when called upon, the emperor has it in his power to raise an army of 200,000 men within a few days; but little dependence can, however, be placed on such troops, as most of them, the moors excepted, are raw, and undisciplined.

The emperor's body guard consists of six hundred moorish horsemen, who have been accustomed

ed to enjoy every possible privilege, and who, in return, are guilty of every kind of excess and brutality. The supreme power is lodged in the hands of the governors, but in inferior places, subordinate magistrates or officers rule according to their own pleasure; the emperor seems to give himself very little trouble about them, or their proceedings, provided they treat his subjects with sufficient harshness, and rigour. When a subject ventures to conceal any of his effects, or any part of his grain, after it has once been demanded in the name of the emperor, or a governor, and persists in denying that he has any, should the effects or grain happen afterwards to be discovered in his possession, the poor man is forthwith adjudged to have forfeited his life and property; nay he must consider it as a great favour, if the punishment be mitigated by putting him in irons for life, and by banishing his family out of the country.

The Mahometan priests, who are not very numerous in this country, frequently perpetrate, with impunity, the most horrid acts of infamy, injustice, and murder.

It is a common practice among them, to carry the Koran about with them, and they wish it to be thought that they employ great care in the

study of it. They exhort the people to attend prayers, and to follow the precepts of that book; they run three times a day to the mosque, and like the priests of Baal, bellow as if desirous to awake the Deity, whom they pretend to adore, out of a profound sleep. The prophet too is implored, that he may suffer his son the emperor to reign long on the earth; but their real aim is not to preach morality, much less to enlighten the people; on the contrary, their only wish is to strengthen themselves in their own authority, and secure an unlimited ascendancy over the public mind. They appear to pray, however, with great fervour and devotion when imploring God and the prophet to destroy the infidels, and cause them to perish. They employ themselves several times daily in instructing youth, but their lessons tend only to stifle the suggestions of reason in the young mind, and to impress a slavish fear of the prophet, and of themselves, whom they would have them consider as his servants.

Polygamy is common in this country, it is not unusual with the Moors to have from four to six wives at a time, but they as frequently find opportunities of getting rid of them. When the wife of a moor dies suddenly, no enquiry is made respecting the cause, and if any one should come forward

forward to prove that murder has been committed on the deceased, he would not obtain a hearing.

When a moor thinks fit to ask in marriage the daughter of a working tradesman, she must be inevitably delivered up to him, unless her relations chuse to run the risk of having their houses plundered, or of being themselves secretly assassinated. The women are obliged to live very reclusive in separate apartments.

Among the first class of inhabitants, consisting of merchants, priests, officers, and the like, some men of integrity, and of a liberal turn of mind may be met with, but the greatest part may be termed with propriety base and unprincipled villains, especially the priests and the officers, who are extremely treacherous and malignant. The merchants are obliged to pay the tenth part of all merchandize as a tax to the emperor, or his governors, and they must also pay a capitation tax, a war tax, and a tax for their personal safety*; besides these usual taxes, free contributions, as presents to the emperor, are very frequently demanded,

* This tax is levied by the governor, who provides a guard to protect the merchants warehouses during the night, and

and in addition to all these imposts, every one must pay a certain regular tax for the support of the priests.

Jews are neither permitted to follow any trade, nor possess property, but they are forced, like public slaves, to perform the lowest menial services, and to endure the hardest treatment, without daring to complain.

The town of Azafia is about one-fourth as large as the city of Morocco; it is handsomely built, and carries on a considerable trade, which is likewise daily increasing. It is said that between eighty and ninety foreign ships, laden with merchandize, come to anchor annually in the road.

My master possessed eight negroe slaves, and two moorish servants, who were not subjected to hard or cruel treatment, as no more labour was required of them than they could perform by moderate exertions. I was entrusted with the care of four horses and three camels, and although I received the same allowance as the rest of the slaves, I was almost daily provided with other dishes by my master. He was much pleased with my diligence; I repaired two saddles and the furniture belonging

ing to them as well as I could; I dressed the leather, such as is commonly used here for similar purposes, with ashes and salt, and made it pliable with fat taken from sheep's tails; I likewise repaired all the fire-arms which were in the house, and suggested a number of improvements in my master's domestic œconomy.

When I first entered into his service I received the common slave-dress, consisting of a blue shirt, blue striped trowsers, and a coarse woollen cloak, but I was soon desired to lay these aside, and my master made me a present of some half-worn cloaths, among which was a good cloak.

When my master travelled to other towns I generally accompanied him, and on these occasions was treated by him as his intimate friend; I enjoyed the same fare, slept on the same sort of couch, and transacted business for him in the course of his commercial affairs.

On this occasion I could not but recollect the tales of those who pretended to have been slaves in this country, and who spoke of nothing but the severest and most cruel treatment. I must, however, beg leave to contradict them, as I had many opportunities of observing, that faithful and diligent Chris-

tian slaves are often treated here with great lenity. When I had remained almost a year in this place, my master took me with him on board a Spanish vessel, which had lately arrived, that I might, with the assistance of other slaves, carry home such goods as he might purchase. As soon as I had set my foot on the deck I was surrounded by several of the officers and foremast men, who asked me a number of questions, but finding that I was unacquainted with their language, they called in a sailor who understood the English and Dutch, and who on this occasion served as an interpreter. The officers desired him to demand of me whether I was a Christian? How I came to be a slave? How long I had been here? and if I had any desire to be set at liberty? I answered their first questions agreeably to truth, and in reply to the latter, told them that I had no reason to be dissatisfied with my situation, as I was treated by my master more like a friend or relation, than a slave. My master, who was standing close to the captain, and at a little distance from me, was highly pleased to hear me thus express my affection and esteem for him. When the officers and foremastmen found that they could make no impression upon me in respect to changing my religion, the

ship's chaplain approached, and attempted to persuade me, by representing that I could not openly profess my own religion here, and had therefore much better throw myself on the generosity of the Spaniards. To this priest I returned no answer, but advanced towards my master. The priest still accosted me, and offered me some beads to say my prayers by: but on refusing to accept them, He branded me as a heretic, undeserving of the kind intentions they had expressed towards me. My master seemed highly delighted with my behaviour, and promised to reward me at a proper time. I should have been very willing to depart with an English, French, Dutch, Danish, or Swedish vessel, but the Spaniards and Portuguese I detested, as I was no stranger to their ill treatment of redeemed slaves in general, and especially of such as are Protestants.

The next day about noon, my master charged both his free servants to consider me hereafter not as a slave, but as their comrade; and they were ordered also to give me a share of the presents which they received at different times. This was far from being agreeable to them, and they therefore made it their study to impede me in my occupations, and to harass me by every means they could, on every occasion; but I patiently submitted to
this

this treatment, as thinking myself happy in the favour of my master. One day one of these fellows gave me such a violent blow on the head, that the blood gushed from my nose and mouth; even this treatment I intended to bear with patience, to avoid drawing upon myself the hatred of other Moors; but it so happened, that my master, a few minutes after, entered our room, and seeing the blood flow, asked what had happened? I then informed him what I had been obliged to suffer for some time past, and of the blow I had just received. The narrative did not fail to excite my master's indignation; he immediately laid hold of the offender, and after correcting him with a stick as long as he had any strength remaining, turned him out of doors.

In the space of a year and four months I had saved seventy Spanish dollars from the presents which I now and then received when I had commissions to execute, which I always did punctually, especially on board the French ships, and at the French counting-houses. Among the Europeans I had gained many friends, particularly a Mr. Le Creger, belonging to a French mercantile house, who, on Fridays, when I had leave to visit him, for a few hours, entertained me with news from Europe. There were some other French gentlemen, who
had

had arrived here in the year 1793, and had obtained leave to settle here, among whom was a M. de Fabre, who resided six months in my master's house, and who testified much friendship for me; he treated me without reserve, gave me good advice, made me presents of old cloaths, and when he quitted our house, presented me with a louis d'or.

In the month of November, 1796, an English vessel, and in a few days after, a Dutch one, under Prussian colours, arrived in the roads. I was obliged to go on board both these vessels on my master's business, but particularly the latter, where I saw a number of Frenchmen, belonging to the ship. Captain Grade, the commander, a native of Flanders, laid me under many obligations, often conversed with me, enquired into my circumstances, and took every opportunity of speaking to others in my favour. As I generally went on board twice a day, I soon became acquainted with the Dutch sailors and the mate, and they offered to take me to Europe, if I would quit my situation as a slave, and purchase my liberty.

The mate, whose name was Manke, a native of Zwoll, repeated the offer, as often as I came on board, and opposed many arguments, to my wish

wish of staying a little longer with my master, urging, that in case of his master's death, I might fall in the hands of some fellow, of a brutal disposition, or that I might be slandered, and rendered miserable by Moors, or even by my fellow slaves. I seriously reflected for a few days, on the arguments he made use of; and at length told him, that I had resolved to accompany him to Europe, if he would take the trouble to ask my master, what sum he required for my liberty. This he did the very next day, when he came to our house, in company with the captain, who had several accounts to settle with my master.

After their commercial matters were adjusted, he proceeded to ask my master, what sum he would take for my ransom? His answer was, that hitherto, I had shewn no desire to return to my own country, but that if I now felt an inclination to go, he would not be the means of detaining me. I was then called in, and asked, if I had any desire to return to my native country? I replied, "That I should have no objection to end my days where I was, provided, I could be assured my parents were not alive; but as it was natural to think, they must be extremely uneasy, respecting my fate, an inclination to return to Europe existed in my breast; and therefore I requested he would grant me my liberty." My
master

master answered, "I do not wish to part with you, because you are a good, worthy man, and superior to many mussulmen, but I will not oppose your wish, and therefore ask for your release only 200 * mardens or piasters." I shook my head, and told him, that as it was out of my power to raise such a sum, I should be obliged to remain some time longer; but the captain and the mate, after some further conversation, promised to call on me again in the afternoon, and try what could be done. I immediately replied, that if I could purchase my liberty with my own money, I would go with them; but that I would not accept of any advance from them, as I should then, in order to repay that sum, find myself under the necessity of entering, for some years, into the Dutch service, which I thought far below that of my good master. They desired me to consider the matter, and departed, promising to return in the afternoon. I now thought no more about my liberty, as I was determined not to be redeemed with the money of strangers: but in an hour after, a Dutchman of distinction, came to the house, and called

* A Spanish marden and a piastre, are of the same value, though the impression is different. The marden has on one side two pillars, with the Spanish arms between them, and the round ones are of inferior value to the square ones.

for my master. This gentleman had resided a year in the city, in no public character, but seemed to be a secret agent of the French republic. He informed my master, that a Dutch captain and a mate had just called upon him, of whom he had learned, that I wished to return to Europe, if I could raise the money sufficient for my redemption; that he intended to redeem me from slavery, and was ready to advance the money expected. My master then sent for me, and mentioned to me, in presence of this gentleman, whose name was Van der Haft, what had been proposed. I thanked the gentleman respectfully; but added, that my intention was to purchase my liberty, at a future day, by my own industry, that I might not be under the obligation, to serve my deliverer for a term of years, and perhaps, be forced at last to go to America, or to the Cape; and that, besides, I should be deemed a deserter, and punished as such, if I arrived in Holland, without having completed my service to the company. After some remarks, this gentleman informed me, that the company had very little authority at present, and that the money he intended to pay for my ransom, did not belong to them, but to himself alone; that he made me a present of it, and would give me ample security in writing, that no man living should ever have it in his power to trouble me,

me, on account of my redemption. I was greatly astonished at what I heard, but remained doubtful, and not perfectly satisfied in my mind, apprehending that he might have some private views; but when my master himself appeared to take pleasure in the good fortune which had befallen me, and began to persuade me to accept the offered donation, I returned the most respectful and sincere thanks to my benefactor, and embraced his kind offer. He immediately paid down the ransom, wrote the promised indemnity, and returned me my own seventy dollars, which I had offered him in part of payment, wished me a prosperous voyage, and took his leave.

In the afternoon, the captain returned, and enquired, whether I intended to persist in my intention of staying. I related to him what had happened; but he dissembled, and pretended he had not the least knowledge of my benefactor: when I mentioned, however, that my deliverer had told me his name, he could no longer deny, that it was through his means, that my situation had been made known to him. In the mean time, he desired me to prepare myself to go on board, as he proposed to sail at the expiration of three days. My master then made me a present of some mats, dried meat, flour, old clothes, and other

articles ; and on the 11th of November 1796, accompanied me on board the vessel, which was to carry me to my native land, tears all the while flowing copiously from his eyes. As the wind was contrary, we could not sail instantly ; but no time was lost, and every preparation was made for our departure. The whole ship's company, including officers, consisted of thirty-four persons.

CHAP. XVI.

Voyage from Morocco to Holland.—The Vessel meets with two heavy Gales; loses her Fore-mast, but the Damage is repaired.—Is detained by an English Frigate.—The Author is attacked by a Fever.—The Vessel arrives in the Texel.—The Author proceeds to Amsterdam in a smaller Vessel; on his Arrival in that City, is arrested, and detained in Prison until the 2d of May, when he is sentenced to serve two Years in a Dutch Regiment.—A Captain of a Prussian Ship, from Dantzic, protects him, and obtains his Discharge.—With this Captain, the Author sets sail, and after a prosperous Voyage of eighteen Days, arrives at Dantzic.—His Friend procures him a Passport, by means of which he returns to his native City.

ON the 13th of November, we set sail with a fair wind, and soon had the satisfaction to come within sight of Gibraltar; but before we could make the bay, we were overtaken by a storm, and lost our fore-mast; when the gale had abated, we worked in, repaired the damage we

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had

had sustained, and replenished our water-casks. Near Cadiz, we encountered another heavy gale, and were likewise detained by an English frigate, the officers of which searched our vessel with great strictness. They found nothing to authorize them to capture the vessel, but they took two men out of the ship, who had formerly been in the English service.

After this period, we had much bad weather, rain and snow succeeded each other, and we were exposed to a great deal of fatigue. In consequence of the wet weather, I caught cold, and fell ill of a fever, which soon reduced me to a very low state. We were so fortunate, however, as to reach the Texel; and on the 9th of February 1797, we cast anchor in the roads.

I embarked immediately on board a small vessel *, and the next day proceeded to Amsterdam. I had scarcely set my foot on shore, when I was stopped by a French guard, consisting of an officer and four soldiers. The officer asked me, "In what ship I had arrived?" I answered, "In a

* Small vessels of this kind, are employed to carry merchandize up to Amsterdam, to and from the large ships, which are too heavy to pass over the shoals.

merchant brig, named the *New Jagter Huis*." "What countryman are you?" added he: "A German." "Are you a sailor or a passenger?" "I am a passenger, and come from Morocco, where I have been a slave." "Where is your passport?" "The captain told me, that I wanted no passport, as he intended to be answerable for me." "You must stop here, until your captain arrives," replied the officer. I was then conducted by a soldier to the guard house, where I was again questioned, and told that I must remain there until the captain's arrival. In less than an hour, above two hundred people had assembled, who, having learned that a slave was arrived from Morocco, eagerly wished to see me. I sent for something to eat and drink, purchased some clothes, and made myself perfectly happy; but when I found next day, that I was not at liberty to go where I pleased, I became uneasy; especially, as I considered, that as I was a deserter, ransom-money might be demanded; or I might be again forced into the company's service.

On the 6th day of my confinement, a young and humane officer, who came on duty as commander of the guard, entered into conversation with me. To him I related whence I came, and what hardships I had suffered; and at length

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asked

asked him, "Why I was not set at liberty?" He replied, "That information had been received, that I was a deserter, and that enquiries were now making to find out the truth." "If I am considered as a deserter," said I, "Why am I not maintained at the public expence; and why am I obliged, for my support, to spend the few shillings which I earned and saved with so much labour and trouble, while I was a slave?" To this I received no answer. The officer left me; and, in about an hour after, three Dutch shillings*, were given to me; for which, however, I could scarcely obtain a pound and a half of bread, as the necessities of life were, at this time, excessively dear. Every morning, I received the same sum, which only procured me a breakfast. In the course of eight days, I was examined three times at the guard-house; but obtained no further information. I was desired to deliver up the papers which I had in my possession; but this, I obstinately refused to comply with, and maintained, that no man had the smallest right to take them from me. I now became very impatient, and told those who demanded them of me, "That I had been better treated in the heart of Africa, and even in Morocco. On the second of May, a secretary

* A Dutch shilling is worth sixpence English.

brought me intelligence, that I was condemned to serve three years as a soldier or sailor; and that within three days, I must give in my answer. I made no reply, but felt much dejected. I formed plans of escape, but none likely to succeed; my deliverance, however, was nearer than I expected.

On the 5th of May, while I was sitting, deeply immersed in thought, before the guard-house, I raised my eyes, and saw three sailors, who wore striped sashes round the middle. One of them looking towards me, I beckoned him to approach me. He came; and I asked him, whether they were in the Dutch service? He replied, that they were Prussians, and belonged to Dantzic. "I am a Prussian, also," said I, "but am detained here, in confinement. You must speak to our captain," replied he; "here he comes, that is he in the Prussian uniform; he is a good man, his name is Rosner." They then left me; and when the captain passed, I addressed him by his name, and requested to speak with him. I then related, in few words, the cause of my confinement, and begged his advice and assistance. "Do you wish to return to your native place," said he. "Yes, Sir, I do not like to remain among these boorish Dutchmen." "Well," added he, "I

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will

will do what I can, to liberate you from your present disagreeable situation; and if you'll work your passage, I'll take you along with me." "That I will with pleasure," replied I. He immediately went to the officer of the guard; asked him, why I was detained, and prevented from returning home; and what was intended to be done with me? The officer answered, that I was a deserter. "He can no longer be considered as a deserter," said the captain, "he is free; and if he is not instantly set at liberty, I shall write to the king, my master." The officer referred him to a superior officer; and the captain retired, as soon as he perceived, that nothing further could be done at this time; and afterwards sent a sailor to me, with a bottle of wine and some roast meat, and ordered him to stop with me, lest I should be sent away to some other place. About an hour afterwards, four officers, the above-mentioned secretary, and the Prussian captain, returned to the guard-house, and I was examined once more. When the examination was finished, the major said, "How can we act otherwise, the man is a deserter? He ought at least to serve out the remainder of the time, for which he was bound at the Cape." The Prussian captain replied, "That the company had no occasion to trouble themselves any longer about deserters from the Cape of Good Hope, since

since it was now in the possession of the English ; and at present," added he, " you have no authority in any thing respecting that place." The Dutch officers started new objections ; but the captain would not be put off. " The man shall go along with me," said he, " he is no criminal, consequently, he ought not to be detained." They still refused, however, to set me at liberty ; and the captain declared, in the most positive manner, that he would immediately forward my case to the king, his master, and would not fail till he had received his majesty's determination upon the subject. When the major heard this, he lowered his tone, and agreed, that if I would pay the expences of my examination, and of my maintenance, he would release me. " Make out your bill, gentlemen," said the captain, " it shall be paid by the king." Then desiring his servant to accompany me to his lodgings, and to remain with me, I hurried away with my conductor. On the captain's return, I sincerely thanked him for his kindness, and behaved towards him, as was my duty, towards so active a benefactor !

We remained on shore till the 14th of May, when having purchased the necessary provisions, we left Amsterdam, and set sail in our small Prussian vessel, having eighteen hands on board.

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After

After a prosperous voyage of thirteen days, we arrived at Dantzic. I was now at a loss how to obtain a passport; but in this affair, the captain was equally kind, and procured me one.

With tears of gratitude, I took my leave of this generous and benevolent man, quitted Dantzic, and proceeded to my native city, happy and thankful that I had overcome so many dangers.

OF THE

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAP.

OF all the parts of the earth, there is none, respecting which we are so deficient in geographical knowledge, as Africa; every fact, therefore, which tends to make us better acquainted with the still numerous unknown districts of this extensive quarter of the world, is highly interesting.

Notwithstanding the great zeal, which at present prevails, for exploring the interior of Africa, it will be a long time before we shall become intimately acquainted even with all its principal divisions, and be able to determine with precision, their relative situations.

Can it be believed, that in examining the maps of the interior of this country, we often

cast the eye over three or four hundred leagues, without meeting with a single place laid down astronomically, or the situation of which has been accurately determined?

The only probable means of remedying this defect is, to employ *travelling distances*, by which, to determine as nearly as is practicable, the situation of places. It is true, indeed, that geographers have always employed this method, and must do so every where; but it is capable of being further extended, than is generally believed,

The manner of travelling in Africa, does not, however, permit us to apply this mode with the same precision, that we can in cultivated and civilized states, and furnishes us only with results for a very small portion of this quarter of the world. These results are moreover extremely uncertain, as the few travels now existing, still want the precision necessary for this purpose, and do not supply us with the number of correct data, which in better explored countries, give a mean, not very remote from the truth.

Considering those difficulties, the publication of the present journey, will certainly be received
as

as a valuable contribution towards the geographical survey of Africa. Nor will its value in this respect be lessened, even if several points in the journey should be disputed, which, however, this is not a place to examine.

The intention of the map is, not simply to afford a guide to the reader, in following the traveller, but rather to excite and facilitate inquiries into the interior of this vast continent.

An account of the manner in which it has been constructed, and of the authorities that have been followed, is therefore the more necessary. This will shew, it is hoped, that though it was necessary to complete it in a very short time, it has been constructed with considerable care. In regard to the projection, that of Mercator was chosen, because it is the most convenient for laying down those parts of the world, which the author has traversed; and although it has the disadvantage of extending the higher latitudes too much, yet, as the equator cuts nearly through the middle of Africa, this inequality is the less observable. In calculating the latitudes for every five degrees, the well known formula for these latitudes of $r=9.3010$ Parisian miles; and for every five degrees of longitude 0.81166 inches have been adopted. It is much to be wished, that the constructor

structor of every map would give in numbers, the scale employed as the basis in constructing it; and geographers would certainly not consider this information as superfluous.

The author traced out a track of his journey on a chart, made by MANNERT, which was published in the year 1794, by Weigel and Schneider, without the name of its meritorious draughtsman. It might, perhaps, be supposed that I had only to copy that track, by applying the declination of the magnetic needle, according to Major RENNEL's hypothesis; it was, however, very often impracticable to follow his directions, so as to fall upon the places he mentioned. I was therefore obliged to insert these places according to the best sources of information, and to make the map coincide with the author's route, in the best manner I could. The compass, which the author made use of, seems to have been inaccurate.

The known astronomical points are but few, and the greatest part of those communicated in *Niebuhr's*, *Bruce's*, and *Brozen's* Travels, with the late discoveries of the French in Egypt, were too remote from the track of our author, to enable me to make any use of them.

In

In the northern part of Africa, the coast from *Cape Spartel* as far as *Cape Verd*, is accurately laid down in a voyage of the *Ifis* frigate, published by FLEURIEU, at Paris, in two volumes 4to, 1793. These points were admitted as a basis, but a few principal points mentioned in that voyage, were laid down, as given in *La Connoissance des Temps pour l'an xi.* and others, were corrected on the authority of that book. Thence to *Cape Negro*, the charts given by Bellin, in the *General History of Voyages*, form very good helps for the continuation of the coast. *Cape Negro* is a point astronomically determined. Thence to the *Cape of Good Hope*, Mr. ARROWSMITH seems most correctly to have laid down the coast, in his second map of the world, published in 1795; he had the advantage, in this track, of two astronomically determined points, not ascertained in any other chart*.

The position of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and especially of *Cape Town*, has been accurately determined by *La Caille*; but from these points, as far as the Red Sea, where *Niebuhr's* deter-

* The translator is happy to add this testimony in favour of the great and acknowledged merit, of all the maps and charts constructed by Mr. ARROWSMITH.

minations commence, that coast, *Madagascar* excepted, is one of the least known parts of the earth.

I have availed myself in this line, as well as I could, of Mr. ARROWSMITH's two maps of the world; of VAUGONDY's chart, in three sheets; of that of MANNERT, and of the last map of Dr. REINEKE. Cape *Guarda Fui*, has been admitted to lie in $12^{\circ} 45''$ north latitude.

In the interior of the northern part of Africa, I had no choice. Major RENNEL has rectified the position of almost every place in his last map, and his determinations will remain, for a long time, the standard of geographers. The justness of this conclusion, will be readily admitted, on comparing the first map of the northern part of Africa, which the Major presented in 1793, to the Society for making Discoveries in the Interior of Africa, with the new map, which he constructed for Mr. PARK's Travels. That future travellers will throw new light on many points, and that at present the best informed writers determine the situation of particular places very differently, for instance, that the state of *Darfür*, should be placed five degrees more southerly, by Major RENNEL, than by Mr. BROWNE, are circumstances rather occa-

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sioned

sioned by our little acquaintance with Africa, than by any faults of this learned and able geographer.

It is, however, to be regretted, that the labours of those who may follow him, will be rendered more difficult by the circumstance, that the stereographic projection, which he usually employs in his maps, is not always accurate. Of the southern parts of Africa, J. R. FORSTER has given a map, published by Schneider and Weigel; but I cannot conceive, how it has happened, that the *Cape of Good Hope*, as well as the principal points in the whole map, are placed one degree too far to the westward, of course, all points in that chart, should be rectified, and brought one degree more to the eastward.

Of the lower part of the eastern coast of Africa, the kingdoms of *Monomotapa*, *Sofala*, and a few neighbouring countries, and on the western side, *Loango*, *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Benguela*, with two other states near them, are the only countries accurately known. These are laid down from Mr. ARROWSMITH's two maps, because, in reality, the one contains sometimes more, and sometimes fewer places than the other; and from BEL-LIN, whose deficiencies have been supplied from
Vaugondy,

Vaugondy, Reineke, Mannert, and a map by *Janvier*, which appeared in 1753, consequently three years after *Danville's* chart.

I was obliged to be satisfied with *Janvier's* map, which follows *Danville's* very closely, as I could not procure the other. This great geographer, published a most valuable dissertation in the 26th volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, on the rivers of the interior of Africa.

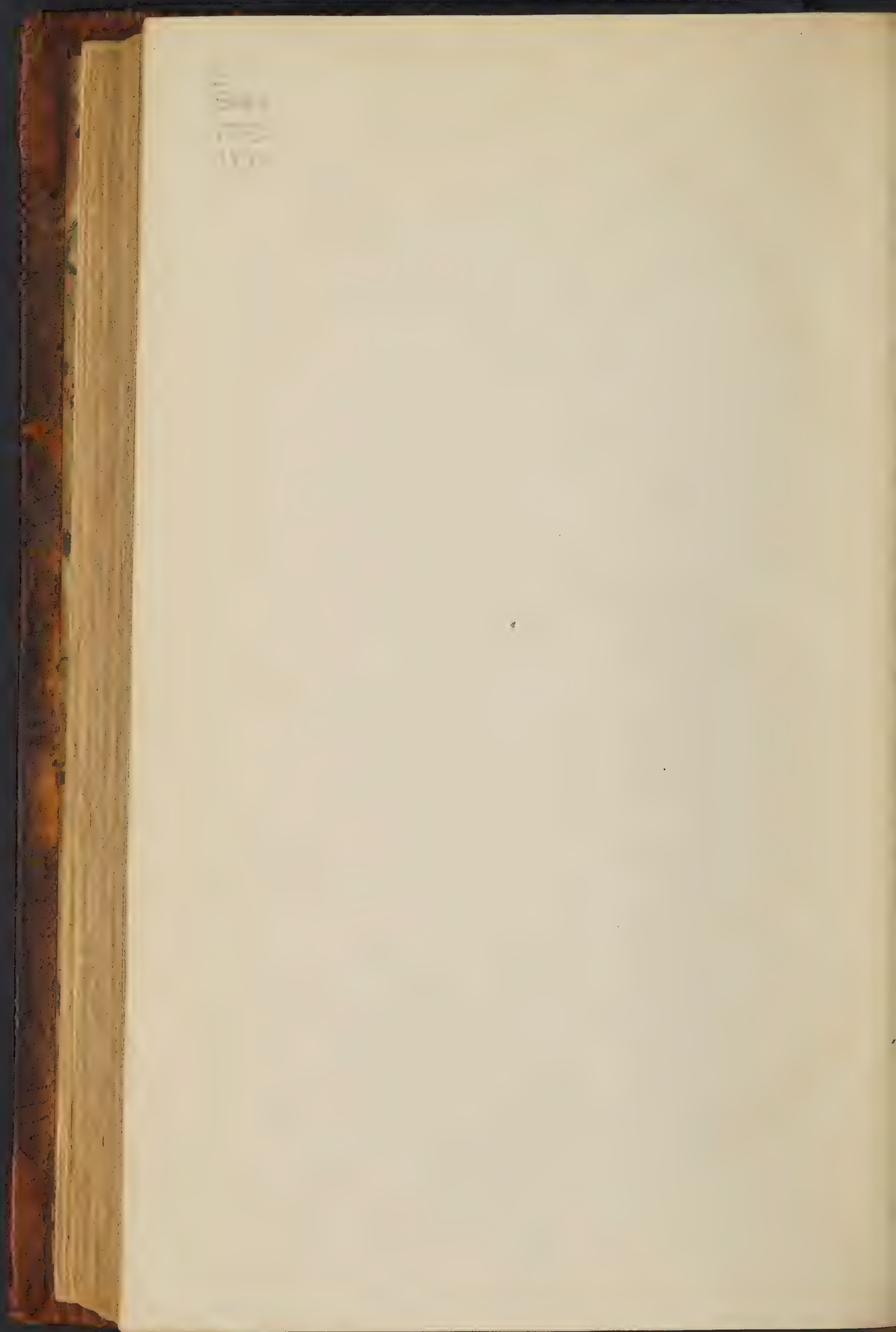
The few other maps, which I have made use of, I do not mention, for instance, a map of the Algerine states, annexed to a description of those countries, which was published at *Altona*, a few years ago; and although it is the best, it furnished me with only a few points.

Leipzig, the 11th of
October, 1800.

C. F. GOLDBACH.

THE END.





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